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# ***JPRS Report***

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## **East Europe**

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12 AUGUST 1987

## EAST EUROPE

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## VISITING BELGIAN JOURNALIST REPORTS ON CURRENT SITUATION

Brussels LE SOIR in French 18, 19 Jun 87

[Report on travel, interviews by Gerard Valet, Belgian journalist; first three paragraphs are LE SOIR introduction]

[18 Jun 87 p 5]

[Text] "An enigma wrapped in a mystery": This phrase, commonly applied to the Soviet Union, is certainly even more apt with regard to that unfathomable Albania which its leaders continue to isolate from the rest of the world.

Of course the necessity for developing the country and for economic reforms does exert some pressure; the influx of foreign capital and equipment--mainly Western--increasingly preoccupies the minds of the team in power. Never since the installation of the communist regime immediately following World War II has the road to Tirana been so "accessible", the borders so "open."

Still, only a very few reporters have had an opportunity to on the spot fulfilling their mission as witnesses. Gerard Valet is one of the few, and that is much to his credit. In fact he can boast many solid achievements: From Canada to Australia, from Iran to Japan touching on the way the China of Mao and North Vietnam. At age 55 he is the producer of the TV program "Test Card"(1) and displays a notable record of eclectic reports.

Having said this, his plunge into the Balkans, between Greece and Yugoslavia, does not claim to be an exhaustive political analysis. Instead, and this precisely makes it so interesting, we have here a sequence of impressions gathered directly from the daily life of the country. Incidentally, the author himself tells us so: He carries his microphone as a "man who is curious and wishes to obtain answers to easy questions such as the public at large may ask themselves."

An abundance of images, anecdotes and impressions which, of course, cannot disguise the reverse of the medal: An ideological dogmatism that accompanies every individual from early childhood, an omnipresent propaganda with simple and reassuring slogans, a society where a general collectivism allows no place to individual initiative, a subsistence economy on the basis of self-sufficiency so as to limit as far as at all possible any outside influence. Above all,

finally, a human rights policy that is hardly compatible with classic democratic criteria and is regularly censured in the annual reports published by Amnesty International though invariably justified by the local bureaucrats who insist on their "own conception of freedom."

The recent death of Enver Hoxha, the last of the "implacable Stalinists," caused the geopoliticians to speculate about the possible liberalization and opening up of the regime. It must be admitted, though, that so far nothing of the kind has happened. Hoxha's successor Ramiz Alia, prematurely dubbed the "Albanian Gorbachev," shows no sign of breaking with the heritage of the "father of the fatherland" whose spectacular quarrels with Belgrade (1948), Moscow (1960) and Beijing (1977) have bestowed on him a persistent and immense prestige among the population.

Could the mere fact of Gerard Valet's journey be taken as a an encouraging sign? Of the country's genuine willingness to make itself known, to reveal its "hidden life" to others, to exchange ideas and information with its neighbors, in short to finally come out of that isolation into which it was plunged by stiffnecked pride and the certainty of holding the key to an original experience--unique of its kind? Let us at least consider it an augury...

#### I. A Daily Life Bathed in Red...To Be Discovered Without Prejudice

"How odd that Albania should have the reputation of being a closed country," says an official of the Committee for Cultural and Friendly Relations while I am drinking this morning's first "raki."

"Wait until I show my documentary."

(A skeptical smile.)

"We would like that, because we are organizing many cultural events in many places; we are welcoming thousands of tourists each year and play hosts to dozens of reporters--even if these latter only accompany football teams (among them the Belgian team); we are publishing six reviews in foreign languages. Radio Tirana receives letters from 110 countries, and yet this label 'closed country' sticks to Albania like the effigy of Enver Hodza to the outside of the Superior Agricultural Institute."

It is quite true that this is amazing, and it is far from easy to find an answer. Maybe the language used by the Albanians to make themselves known is undecipherable: If one tends to be skeptical, it is quite possible to return from Albania with the image of a country where 3 million robots are stuffed with the right thoughts, with historic dates, moralizing articles, childish movies--all that to permit a few lay saints to taste the joys of power. But, if you arrive in Albania and leave your prejudices at the entrance, if you try to decipher the reasons for the truly exceptional mentality of this small country, you become witness to an entirely unique experience.

Now it is easy to say let us forget our prejudices. You find yourself in conflict from the word go.

You succeeded in getting a visa at the Albanian Embassy in Paris. A jet puts you down at Zurich where you take one of the two weekly flights that Swissair has scheduled for Tirana in the past 8 months.

And now there you are in a two-engine propeller aircraft with 33 seats and a single unhappy hostess. Underdevelopment is beginning to show! You are wrong. Before buckling on your parachute, you go see the captain in the cockpit, and he reassures you:

"This is a new generation of aircraft. They have jet engines with propellers and use only about one eighth of the fuel needed by a normal jet. At the same time they achieve a speed of 510 km per hour."

"Who are your usual passengers?"

"Businessmen and politicians, also Albanians who had emigrated to the United States and are going to see their relatives."

"Are you usually full?"

"Let us say that we are currently operating at more than 50 percent occupancy."

Calm or Backwardness?

The journey takes 2 hours 50 minutes, and--if the weather is nice--you are amazed to see the entire Adriatic coast, Italian on the one side, Yugoslav on the other.

I would have loved to have stopovers on the route: Milan, Florence, Ancona, Brindisi.

Among the passengers in the Saab 5 F 340 "City Liner" is a group of 25 French from the south. They are bringing up the occupancy rate in our aircraft. The 25 are members of a railroaders club from the southwest region. What do they expect to find? Twenty-four of them look forward to a country that has been able to preserve its independence, its calm; a people who approach the future with sound principles....When I met up with them a few days later, their enthusiasm knew no bounds: The family spirit, the lack of road traffic, the cleanliness, the folk dancing, the museums, the genuinely warm welcome, in short it would not take much for them to award four stars to the Albanian brandy!

The 25th has not changed his mind: Albania is the most firmly closed country in Europe and the most backward. The people are brainwashed and march as if they were a single entity. He most certainly has not shed any of his prejudices.

The captain advises us that we are going to overfly Albania for 8 minutes, from the coast to the airport.



He adds that "it will be interesting to watch, because we are authorized to fly quite low."

There it is, the "promised land." An old hand (he has been here once before) is intent on showing us the blockhouses that line the coast like a pedestrian crossing. In accordance with their purpose they are well camouflaged, and I merely see modest elevations rising from the plain like the yellow of fried eggs.

As we get closer, the curves tend to blur and make room for cultivated terraces. The smallest spot is put to use. Later I will note that--wherever it is possible or even impossible, Albania is turned over, spaded, hoed, weeded, planted and watered. Soon I will be quoted figures and learn that, ever since 29 August 1945, the date the law on agricultural reform was promulgated, annual growth has been on the order of 5 percent, and the peaks are still in the clouds.

Don't Harm Pedestrians...

Let us keep our feet on the ground for the present. Here we are at Rinas International Airport. We do not have to go round and round waiting our turn to land (as we had to do in Zurich). There is only one runway, and once the second daily aircraft (the Hungarian) is safely in its hangar, the traffic controller can go for coffee.

Roses grow around the trunks of the palm trees. We are truly in the south, right across from the heel of the boot of Italy. A short walk. Banners remind us that proletarians have a vested interest in sticking together, that tomorrow is an important day: 1 May. Enver Hoxha's portrait hangs above the entrance to the small air terminal. Anyone talking of a change in the official line is bound to be (at least) an agent provocateur.

An official from the Albanian Committee for Cultural and Friendly Relations with Foreign Countries and the guide assigned to me for the duration of my visit have been waiting for me. While we smoke an Albanian cigarette and drink a coffee laced with "raki," luggage and passports clear customs without fuss. A Volvo 144 is ready for us and deposits us at the Dajti Hotel, 25 km away. The hotel is located at National Hero Boulevard, the Champs Elysees of Tirana. The few cars drive a slalom course among the pedestrians who have the run of the road. It is certainly not necessary to have double windows to keep out traffic noise! Occasionally a driver sounds the horn and reminds me that my room overlooks the street. Incidentally, I do not see the roadway because a screen of cedars hides it.

The hotel is vast and comfortable. The lobby has desks on the right and left of the entrance. A porter sits behind one of them. He is the one who keeps the passports and room keys. The other holds books on Albania as well as postcards and provides money changing facilities. A color TV set sits inside the lobby. On it we will (on several occasions) watch lengthy extracts of the 1 May celebrations, not only in Tirana where I actually witnessed the parade, but also in other cities. The group of viewers around the set grows denser whenever the 11 shirts of the Partizani--the army team--risk their reputation.

The dining room looks out on a terrace. Pastel colors, green plants, ceiling fans: The Middle East is not far.

The staff wears white jackets and black pants. Incidentally, I should mention that Albanians dress conservatively, and I therefore frequently hear the remark: "It is quite obvious in town that you are a foreigner, you take off your jacket." True, jackets and ties are the preferred attire.

The languages spoken in the hotel are Italian, English, German and French. At meals we see businessmen, scholars. Here a Greek couple who seem out of place--too ostentatiously "chic." There a Swiss delegate from the FAO, elsewhere a group of German-Swiss tourists and two mysterious Italians who look as if they had escaped from a Visconti movie. I would meet some of them again when our itineraries crossed at Berat in the south or at Skodra in the north.

Food is abundant and varied though, for our taste, the meat tends to be overcooked. The white wine is excellent, the red wine liable to be on the heavy side. The bars serve coffee, raki, cognac, Italian aperitifs, ouzo, and so on.

From the very first conversations (and I will return to this topic later) I note quite a bit of curiosity about what the foreigner may think. The leaders are well aware of the outside criticism of Albania. While foreign newspapers do not get through customs if found in the luggage of an individual, senior party officials subscribe to them. The accusations by LE MONDE are commented and angrily answered.

#### Idling Prohibited

We feel a bit uncomfortable about "being taken in hand." Though we are not with a group, my wife Tania and I kept to a program, admittedly drawn up after consultation and modified whenever we wished--but we were seldom allowed to be idle.

I must be truthful and add to the above that my obligations included many important encounters that I had wanted to have, and I believe that foreign reporters who came to Belgium on the occasion of the recent Eurovision event felt much the same.

After all, what country does not want to parade that which is its pride and joy? Since I personally prefer to talk to a family rather than walk through the umpteenth museum, I felt somewhat hemmed in at times. It seems to me that Albania which is so self-confident in its choice of society should not be afraid of letting a reporter wander about in pursuit of his inspiration.

The country is magnificent and the welcome warm everywhere. I am only a little shocked by the color red that dominates in many places and would like to know what goes on in the heads of the Albanians who resemble us, but whose thinking is diametrically opposed to ours. Actually I think that we tend to be struck by the fact that their physical appearance is so similar to ours while they are reasoning in a totally different way. If they were black, if

they had slit eyes, it would be so much easier to understand that they do not like traffic jams, that they appreciate family life, that they are gluttons for historic facts, that they are proud of being Illyrians, and that they are guilty of working hard at school--from morning to night--to get a medal and, who knows, perhaps the title of...

Only there it is. Our conceptions of human rights are not the same as theirs: The word "freedom" is not defined the same.

Why is religion banned? Are they not afraid of the influence of future telecommunications? Can anyone freely leave the country? Would they welcome the boat people? What is the difference between Hoxha, Mao and Ceausescu?

I asked these questions of several senior officials, and these exchanges encouraged me to hope for better understanding.

Enver for Ever...

Affixed to the wall of the lobby in the Dajti Hotel in Tirana is a picture that represents the city of Gjirokaster. This is a famous city, the "city of stone," dominated by a fortress that the painter sharply accented. The name Enver Hoxha is clearly visible slightly above the fortress, on the wooded flank of a dark mountain.

The first time I took a closer look at this picture, I imagined that the artist had intended a personal homage to Comrade Enver. Not at all! The Albanian people are sculpting the woods and the mountains. From a long way off we note the name of the former president or of the workers' party inscribed in giant letters and descending to the valley. This insistence at so displaying the name, the face and the ideas of Enver Hoxha is just as disquieting as was the same tendency in China with respect to Mao Tse Dong. Napoleon Roshi, editor-in-chief of BASHKIMI, one of the two Albanian dailies, tries to reassure me:

"There it is: You can command a people to do something, but the tears shed by the Albanian people for Comrade Enver Hoxha--that is something you cannot command, because you must also understand the nature of our country. Ours is a small country, oppressed for most of its history, with enormous problems. Now it has succeeded in liberating itself, and this liberation is intimately linked with Enver Hoxha and the party. Moreover, at various crucial moments, for example after the war, after the liberation, when the British intended to intervene with their military forces, we told them 'stop or we fire!' because we ourselves had liberated the country. When the Yugoslavs were aiming to send two divisions into Albania (in 1948), we also ordered them to stop.

Just think of the courage needed for Albania to expel the Soviets and remember that all this is linked with the name of Enver Hoxha. And more: You in Europe have had railroads for 160 years. Then realize that we are just now constructing railroads. Not all cities are yet linked by the railroad. Thus you see how backward we were. Total poverty dominated entire regions, the light came from candles, illiteracy prevailed, and so on. We have achieved everything you see. Of course a lot remains to be done, but we are very proud to say that we share whatever we have, just as much in Tirana as in the



populated mountain regions: Electricity, pure water, and so on. In this spirit Enver Hoxha's face has become the symbol of progress, of independence. It is in the nature of the Albanians to be proud. They would not flaunt their devotion if they did not feel it. Each country has its heroes but I may confidently assert that the name of Enver Hoxha is very precious to the Albanians."

#### Facts to Remember:

Albania is a small country, two thirds mountains, covering 29,000 square kilometers (Belgium: 35,000).

The population of Albania is 3 million (1 million in 1945), the country has a coastline of 470 km; in the north and east it borders on Yugoslavia, in the south on Greece.

Enver Hoxha (born in Gjirokaster in 1908) was the thinker and ruler of Albania for 40 years. Though he died in 1985, he is even greater in death than he was in life.

His successor at the head of the Workers' Party of Albania is called Ramiz Alia.

#### PHOTO CAPTIONS

1. Tens of thousands of blockhouses are an integral part of the landscape. The Albanians have named them "mushrooms." They were constructed all across the country. They represent the "first line of defense" in the case of invasion.
2. The effigy of Enver Hoxha, nicknamed "Uncle Enver" by his compatriots, is everywhere, on the outside walls of public buildings as well as inside truck cabs. Postal stamps do not escape this rule either...

#### FOOTNOTE

1. A TV documentary on Albania will be broadcast by the first program of the RTBF [Belgian Radio and Television Broadcasting System] as part of the transmissions "Point of View" from 16 June through 19 June at 12.30 hours.

[19 Jun 87 p 3]

The everlasting magic of the aircraft that lands on the only landing strip of an unknown airport, the proposition of a classic "tourist" discovery--welcome, cooking, hotels--, the sustained and vigilant attention of the official hosts, the omnipresence of the national "big brother," now dead: In the first part of his report (LE SOIR of Wednesday, 17 June), Gerard Valet offered us mainly the personal impressions of the "outsider" who has just arrived at Tirana.

What, indeed, do the Albanians think about some of the social issues confronting every nation on earth? How, in particular, do they think they will cope with the demographic push on a largely mountainous territory that is even smaller than Belgium? How will they manage to keep in the unchanging channels of a rigid education the young people who, with the help of TV programs, are prey to the temptations of western civilization? How will they get rid of the religious feelings that might still linger in "deviationist" or tormented souls whom Marxist-Leninist brainwashing has not succeeded in convincing?

Full of the people whom he met in his week of travel, the author hereafter plays a game of questions and answers, offers some brief and often instructive dialogues. Let us then follow this guide who wants nothing more than to help everybody to judge for himself...

[QUESTION] The Albanian population was 1 million in 1944/1945. Now it is close to 3 million. Before the war, the average life expectation was no more than 38 years. Now it is 71 years. The area of Albania covers 28,000 square kilometers (Belgium 35,000), and two thirds are mountainous. Are you not going to run into problems in the long run?

[ANSWER] No. We can increase our output so that we need not fear a population of 6 million in Albania. In theory we should double our output in 30 years, but in fact our production will need only 15-20 years.

[QUESTION] Is abortion legal?

[ANSWER] No, except for medical reasons.

[QUESTION] Thirty-five percent of Albanians are less than 15 years old. How will you protect them against the temptations that will soon be offered by dozens of television channels? It is already possible to view transmissions from Greece, Yugoslavia or Italy.

[ANSWER] That problem does arise to a certain extent but we do not --at least in theory-- admit to a generational conflict.

We are of the opinion that there is more of a social class conflict. Still, in daily life the various generations do indeed display some incompatibility of mentalities, psychologies, traditions, tastes and habits as well as demands. The problem therefore does exist even here.

The outside world does of course play a part, especially western television that looks wonderfully attractive. However, our young people are generally very level headed. We have provided them with great opportunities for growth, education and jobs. Admittedly their aspirations sometimes look further and cannot all be satisfied at the same time. Socialism also has its contradictions, but they are positive contradictions, in the nature of growing pains. Of course here also the old people dwell on the past, complain a great deal about the young, their manners and their education but, in some way, they tend to exaggerate.

## Good from Every Aspect

As you can see for yourself, our youth is generally well behaved, with some variations due to the various age groups. The young are polite, they work, they study, they do their military training, they join in work campaigns, and we consider them a progressive rather than a destructive and nihilist force. They are a constructive force but, at the same time, they are fragile, without experience and therefore need to be handled with a certain social, psychological and pedagogic mastery. Of course we are quite gentle with them.

[QUESTION] When a professor gives a course, does he always include a political Marxist aspect?

[ANSWER] Of course, Marxism is taught in the schools as a subject, again of course in conformity with the age of the children: 8-year olds in the primary schools learn the elements of moral, political and civic education. Later, in the secondary school, they have courses on Marxism. At college level they receive more profound Marxist schooling. That is the theoretical side of the problem, but it is also linked to practices of daily life.

Our young people construct railroads, build new tracks and roads. They terrace hills and mountains. This means that they are not content to just study: They also work in factories and agricultural cooperatives. These are the new components of socialist education.

[QUESTION] What do you do to stimulate the young generations?

[ANSWER] The issue of motivation and interests is complex here also. Moral motivations exist but there is also a tendency toward excessively narrow and utilitarian motivations. They exist mainly inside the family which wants more goods for its children, better jobs, and so on. We have a kind of ferment in our schools, families and public opinion. This is typically an ideological and psychological struggle and, in that struggle, we spare no effort to capture the young, to make them a steadily progressive force refusing to be guided by the narrow concerns of the family but guided instead by the collective good.

[QUESTION] Still, the economists are preoccupied with the question of motivation?

[ANSWER] Yes, and we lack experience. We tried a 10 percent salary rise for some classes of mine workers provided they carried out the plan for the export of raw materials. We also experimented with other material incentives such as supplementary vacations. However, in principle we are counting on moral stimuli: Medals or entries in the honor roll. In any case, we are keeping on with our studies.

[QUESTION] What is it in fact that you fear? To restart the class war?

[ANSWER] Not at all, because all the other factors (social, political and ideological objectives) are present to counteract the creation of privileges for a bureaucratic class. The workers are the ones who rule.

## A Single Faith: Albanism

[QUESTION] How has it been possible to ban all religions in Albania from one day to the next?

[ANSWER] The religious problem in Albania is highly original. Moreover, I would go so far as to claim that it is a unique phenomenon. The Albanian people has never had strong religious convictions, and this has been confirmed by respected foreign observers.

Due to historical circumstances the Albanian people has been divided among three different religious faiths. Outsiders wanted to use this fact to divide the people. The illustrious representatives of the national Albanian renaissance accordingly launched this famous slogan: "Militants, the religion of the Albanians is Albanism."

Later, in the course of the struggle for national liberation, the clergy--in particular the Catholic clergy--made common cause with the fascist occupiers. This helped weaken the religious sentiments of the people. After liberation, when we trod the path to socialism, the clergy opposed the new progressive, democratic and revolutionary transformation. All of this led the people in the mid-1960's to respond to the many revolutionary actions: They themselves closed the churches and mosques to keep in step with the Marxist-Leninist world concept as applied by the government in Albania. In practical terms this paralyzed the work of the clergy.

Many outsiders ask in some surprise how all this could happen without incident. In fact the Albanians were already prepared for this transformation. It would be wrong to think that the closure of religious institutions and the paralysis of clerical action are equivalent to the liquidation of religion. The religious mentality, religious psychology, religious customs and rites manifestly persist in the bosom of the family. Evidently it will need time for that mentality and psychology to completely disappear.

[QUESTION] Still, referring to articles published abroad and that you have surely read, one gets the impression that there is a decree punishing, for example, a clandestine mass?

[ANSWER] Albanian law forbids religious propaganda and activities. However, in daily life this is not enforced. Consequently there are no mass propaganda actions nor religious actions. This does not exclude the fact that some people, mainly the elderly, look back on religion with nostalgia and openly show that nostalgia on feast days. The matter is usually resolved by a discussion within the family or in the community, of course without incident. Even outsiders in Albania have noticed that. It is the simple truth, though a unique and odd phenomenon. The modern Albanian tries to fill his life with new pleasures, new feasts, new traditions, and as far as possible even the old folk join in these pleasures.



## A Rifle for Everyone

[QUESTION] Prices in Albania have not changed despite the crisis. How is that done?

[ANSWER] Our economy does not depend on the world outside. We suffered major droughts in the past 3 years. The decline in the price of oil (we are exporters) and in the rate for raw materials has reduced our earnings. The Albanian public did not notice any of this, because the government fell back on reserves to maintain prices. We need to work hard to reconstitute these reserves that are designed to cope with natural calamities or pay for our defense.

[QUESTION] Is the defense budget large?

[ANSWER] It is. But our army is based on volunteers, on the population. Anyone who can carry a rifle has one. Training sessions are held every year.

[QUESTION] Materiel gets more and more expensive, does it not?

[ANSWER] It does, but we must have it. People who have suffered much in the course of their history do not wish this history to be repeated.

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Having read this, would you like to invite an Albanian? That is very difficult to do, not to say impossible.

"And yet he speaks of freedom," you will say. Yes, definitely: Words do not have the same meaning everywhere, but the Albanians' reasoning is coherent. Incidentally, that applies to everything. For one person to leave implies the departure of the other--if not there would no longer be equality.

In the course of a most interesting conversation with a young economist from the Enver Hoxha University at Tirana I asked him why he had not gone to study abroad. Did he think it unnecessary? Or was it financially impossible?

[ANSWER] Both. First of all it is not up to me to decide whether or not I am to go abroad; the country does that. Our means are limited. We start from scratch. We are building a national economy while trying to raise the standard of living without borrowing abroad.

[QUESTION] But if you would really like to go, for curiosity's sake?

[QUESTION] Not I. We have rules, we are...obedient to our people and our party. I can go abroad if I have relatives there, anywhere, even to Australia. Not, on the other hand, to the United States or countries with whom we do not maintain diplomatic relations. I know Albanians who have relatives in Greece, Italy or Yugoslavia. They go to visit them. I do not have such an opportunity. I could go abroad if I were to be sent by the government or invited by an official institution for a purpose of interest to my country. Groups of artists and scientists do go abroad.

[QUESTION] Do politics sometimes take priority over competence?

[ANSWER] That is another question that makes no sense in Albania, because it is the gifted people who are chosen by the party (1), people with drive, who are in the vanguard of the sciences, industry and farming--the most competent people in the different sectors.

#### Notebook

One gets accustomed quickly to the almost total absence of motor traffic. At dusk the streets are invaded by crowds of walkers. The murmur of conversations is unforgettable.

Roads are generally well asphalted. A Swiss colleague who had been in Albania 16 years ago, was amazed at the progress of the road network and the advances in farming. The vehicles on the roads are functional--trucks and buses that cross or overtake wagons drawn by horses or donkeys, herds of cattle or sheep and pedestrians, indefatigable walkers--rain or shine. The posted speed limits surely date back to the Skanderbeg era.

Our guide speaks perfect French, learned in Albania. He works for Radio Tirana and translates articles in reviews. Radio Tirana broadcasts in 21 languages to the entire world: Music, news and entertainment--such as "Know Albania," "The New Socialist Albanian," and so on.

Linda, a young archeologist takes us to the National History Museum of Tirana. She is proud of being an Illyrian. The museum provides the majority of answers to the question "how can one be an Albanian?".

Albania is an ancient country, constantly in a state of refusal toward the enemies eager to annex it. At last it has achieved a situation allowing it to totally apply Marxism-Leninism.

At Kruja we find a major museum devoted entirely to Skanderbeg, the 15th Century hero. He regularly booted the Ottomans out of Albania. He is as famous as Jeanne D'Arc--except in Belgium, though his statue stands in Brussels.

Tirana boasts a "Museum of Our Development"--where are we coming from, where are we now, where are we going? Models, graphics, figures: The past is dark, the present reassuring, the future radiant.

Also to be seen yet: Magnificent icons, entrusted apparently more to the admiration of visitors than to a security system.

And, to conclude this stroll through Albania, a souvenir--both wonderful and impromptu: A crowd in a street of Podrageo...Long live the bride! She enters the home of her husband. We raise our eyes, expecting to see the couple to come to the window. No. The father-in-law beckons us to come upstairs. Let's go! A small apartment advertises that it "is full up." Edmond and Flora, the couple; their parents, friends, musicians and we by some miracle,



are sitting on a couch, overwhelmed with drink, food--what more can I say--fed and kissed...

How ever were we able to leave them? It was quite extraordinary!

#### The Value of the Lek

On 1 June last, 1 lek was worth around 6 Belgian francs.

The average salary ranges from 700-1,000 lek, in other words about 4,200-6,000 Belgian francs per month; it is sometimes less for a farm worker who gets part of his wage in kind, sometimes more for a cadre or skilled worker.

#### A few prices in Belgian francs:

Mineral water (1 liter)	7 francs
Jug wine (75 centiliter)	21 - 30 francs
Butter (1 kg)	216 francs
Milk (1 liter)	14.50 francs
Sugar (1 kg)	48 francs
Potatoes (1 kg)	9 - 12 francs
Beef (1 kg)	102 francs
Pork (1 kg)	84 francs
Chicken (1 kg)	84 - 102 francs
Handbag (synthetic leather)	432 francs
Football (leather)	420 francs
Overcoat (depending on the material)	2,346-4,644 francs
Man's suit	3,696-4,434 francs
Nylon dress	1,020 francs

There are no taxes. Housing, water, gas and electricity represent 1-5 percent of income.

#### PHOTO CAPTION

The vacation home for workers at Korca, ready to receive 158 summer visitors. In the country of "total Marxism-Leninism" the government looks after all the needs of its subjects. The invitations are distributed by the professional organizations.

#### FOOTNOTE

1. At the Ninth Congress of the Albanian Workers' Party in November last, the figure of 147,000 party members was mentioned and classified as follows: Workers 39.2 percent; cooperators 29.5 percent, white collar workers 31.3 percent, women 32.2 percent.

11698

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## GROSZ AS PREMIER SEEN STRENGTHENING GOVERNMENT POSITION

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 27 Jun 87 p 3

[Article by Viktor Meier: "Position of Hungarian Government Strengthened; Prime Minister Grosz Wants Reforms, Rehabilitation Programs"]

[Text] In a small centralistically organized country like Hungary, personnel changes in the leadership have a fast and direct effect on policy. Therefore the reshuffling decided on by the party Central Committee in Budapest may also be described as a drastic political change. The difficult economic situation, it is being said in the Hungarian capital, at long last demands vigorous tackling of the problems and clear decisions. This is by no means to be regarded as administrative interference but as consistent application of economic laws. It is not possible always to speak of "reform" and then draw back if unpopular or otherwise politically thorny measures must be taken.

## Criticism of Kadar

This criticism is directed not least at Kadar who, at age 75, no longer wants to rush into anything but also at other older Politburo members. In recent months this criticism has been heard with growing intensity especially from the people around Karoly Grosz, the Budapest party secretary and new prime minister. The latter himself frequently argued in a populist, even demagogic manner. Now Kadar has given him the opportunity to put his ideas on economic and social policy into action. Grosz became not only prime minister, but he was also provided with a strong instrument. The authority of the government was expanded. Equipped with the party's authority it is now able to directly deal with the entire complex of economic policy. The successor to Havasi --the person formerly in charge of the economic affairs in the party apparatus who was appointed Budapest party secretary,--Havasi's former section chief Miklos Nemeth, is now only a Central Committee secretary but no longer a Politburo member. The executive head of all of the country armed forces, Istvan Horvath, has also switched from the Central Committee secretariat to the government. Since the events in Poland the

problem of direct power of control over the armed forces is being treated with greater awareness in communist countries.

In spite of this abundance of power for Grosz, there is not only happiness among the followers of Grosz. It is true Grosz will now be able to actively lead national policy with a machinery that the correct high-ranking official Lazar used only incompletely, but he has also been assigned a task that is difficult to accomplish. Many followers of Grosz would have preferred to see him instead of Karoly Nemeth, who has now survived himself in the succession, in the position of deputy general secretary of the party. In that case Grosz would have been designated as Kadar's successor. However, the skillful old party chief did not want that, for it would have weakened his own position. Thus he first sent Grosz into a kind of baptism of fire and at the same time also elevated his rival Janos Berecz with the promotion to the Politburo. If Grosz performs his task well, he will have the better chances for succession to Kadar; if not, then Berecz, whose field of activity of ideology and propaganda has fewer pitfalls, may yet get the better of him.

Grosz is a kind of communist "self-made man" who even in his home county, the Miskolc area, had to deal with the unproductive steel industry. As Budapest party secretary, on the one hand he was burdened with the social drawbacks of the reform policy, with the lag in housing construction, and with the difficult situation of the pensioners, but on the other hand he also had the impatient intellectuals seeking more democracy as partners and the new communist "bourgeoisie" which would like to fully utilize the possibilities of reform. As party secretary he politically prevailed with the first model case of the closing of an unproductive branch plant of the Raba Works in Gyor. At the recent party congress he indicated to the intellectuals that they would have nothing to fear from him.

#### The Indebtedness

There is hardly any danger to the reform course under Grosz, it only seems that he is inclined towards a somewhat simplified approach in some questions. Thus in the past there had been some carelessness regarding borrowing, confident that the National Bank and its Vice President Fekete would be able to cope with that. Hungary's debt burden with roughly \$14 billion is too big. But it would make little sense to blame the National Bank for that and to squander the accumulation of confidence acquired by this institution in foreign countries only because the complex connections of international financial life are difficult to comprehend and occasionally irritate.

The new Hungarian government wants to submit this very week the long-term rehabilitation program decided on by the Central committee, which wants to tackle the difficulties of the country, including also the

indebtedness more vigorously than heretofore. Thus by the end of the year the income tax is to be revised and a value-added tax introduced. As far as can be ascertained, the program is based on realistic assumptions. It is assumed that during the first three years credits will continue to be obtained and the desired balance on current account cannot be achieved. In 1986 the deficit in relation to countries with freely convertible currencies was much above \$ one billion. Moreover, the standard of living has clearly declined.

#### Democratization

Aside from the difficult economic situation, there is the problem of democratization which the general secretary of the "Patriotic People's Front," Pozsgay, so firmly champions. The story from the circle around Gross is that he welcomes this commitment. Pozsgay constitutes the "lobby" for democratization and even replaces the necessary function of a critical but loyal opposition. There is hardly any real "opposition" in Hungary for the intellectuals, who regard themselves as such in almost sectarian manner, keep grimly at it in partial fields, e.g., in the construction of power plants, while others can definitely be integrated in the framework established by Pozsgay. As a stage of the relaxation the trend has become evident in connection with the political changes now decided upon to separate some institutions of the country more clearly from the party and to provide them with a greater importance of their own.

12356

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## RECENT GOVERNMENT, PARTY PERSONNEL CHANGES ASSESSED

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 25 Jun 87 p 5

[Article by V.M.: "Lazar Allegedly Appointed Deputy of Party Chief Kadar; Hungarian Central Committee Approves Personnel Changes in Leadership Positions; Gross New Head of Government?; First Signs of Pluralism"]

[Text] The Central Committee of the Hungarian party on 23 June approved far-reaching personnel changes in the top party and state positions which are likely to partially clarify the succession of general secretary of the party, Kadar, 75. The approved changes have not yet been officially announced but they are regarded as reliably confirmed in Budapest. Accordingly, the present party secretary of the capital Budapest, Karoly Gross, will become the new Hungarian prime minister. Present Prime Minister Gyorgy Lazar becomes Kadar's deputy with the rank of deputy general secretary of the party, while the holder of this office until now, Karoly Nemeth, becomes President of the State Council and thus formal head of state, replacing Pal Losonczy, who apparently resigned for reasons of age.

New party secretary of the capital Budapest will be Ferenc Havasi, who until now was responsible for the economy in the party apparatus. His replacement is his former section chief Nemethy who will merely be a Central Committee secretary but not a Politburo member. However, Janos Berecz, Central Committee secretary for information and propaganda and Judith Csehak, vice premier, have been elected to the Politburo in addition to their present offices.

The approved personnel changes are essentially interpreted in Budapest as a strengthening of the government, which, according to statements also from top politicians, did not look after its duties comprehensively enough. It seems as if now the entire economic policy, its formulation as well as its execution, primarily will be a matter of the government and no longer that of the party apparatus. From now on three Politburo members, Gross, Marothy, and Mrs Csehak, are now part of the government. In view of the country's difficult economic situation, this strengthening



of the government obviously corresponded to a wish of all important political factors.

At the same time it is clear that as a result of the approved changes two young politicians, Grosz and Berecz, were provided with power which can enable both of them at any time to assume the highest party leadership office. The offices of deputy general secretary of the party and of head of state, on the other hand, in the person of Lazar and Nemeth, are now held by two elderly functionaries who probably no longer have any political ambitions but have to guarantee primarily an orderly transfer of power.

Political observers do not regard the changes in Budapest as in any way adversely affecting the economic reform course or the intention for democratization. Grosz, it is said, in his past positions has indeed been a dynamic and active functionary, but by no means has he come out as an opponent of the reforms.

The attribute "liberal" fits neither him nor Berecz to a special degree but neither functionary embodies reactionary trends. It is noted as especially interesting that the general secretary of the "Patriotic People's Front," Pozsgay, who has repeatedly stood out by his clear demands for democratization of the political life, has remained in his position. The fact that he was not elected to the Politburo this time either, according to some opinions, could be interpreted to the effect that some institutions of the country consciously are to be pushed away from the party to achieve a relative importance of their own in the direction of the beginning of pluralism. These institutions would include, aside from the "Patriotic People's Front," also the parliament.

12356

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## TRADE UNIONS LEFT OUT, IGNORED AT LOCAL LEVEL COUNCIL

Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 29 May 87 p 7

[Article by Ildiko Horvath: "Why is the Trade Union a Stepchild in Turje?"]

[Text] "The way I know that they are having an executive committee meeting is by the many cars that are parked in front of the local council building," says Karoly Lendvai, secretary of the village trade union committee in Turje. "Unfortunately I am not invited to attend their meetings. I have no idea why. Maybe they do not even know why we exist. Or perhaps I was just simply left off the list which the secretary uses for sending out invitations.

Karoly Lendvai's peculiar lamentation is not unique. As in many other places around the country, in Zala County there are also villages where no matter how hard the regional committee of the trade unions--or its predecessor, the intertrade committee--tries to carry out the task assigned to it, it keeps running into brick walls. Recently, the presidium of the Zala County Council of the Trade Unions reviewed the work and current situation of the regional committees, and in addition to its positive assessment--according to which they have become increasingly better suited to carrying out their tasks, and have established a good working relationship with the local council and party committee--it also had to point out that in some villages the local councils simply do not see any reason for the regional committees' existence.

They Pay No Attention to Us

Why in Turje? Karoly Lendvai, a long-time resident of the village--he has lived there since he was 5 years old and worked for the Machine and Vehicle Repair Subsidiary of EPFU (Building Materials Transportation Enterprise) as a quality controller--shrugs his shoulder, unable to explain.

"I do not know. In the past, when the thrust of the village program was still determined by the county trade union council,

the secretary of the intertrade council used to be invited to all kinds of gatherings and meetings. Since last year, however, we have been working independently, formulating our work program ourselves, using the guidelines provided by the county trade union council. Trying to formulate it, that is. For nobody seems to pay any attention to us, nobody is taking us seriously.

In contrast, Karoly Lendvai does take his job very seriously. And so does the 8-member committee whose members include local commercial, public health, postal and state-farm employees, public servants and teachers.

But what duties are such committees actually supposed to perform? To quote from the February 1987 resolution of SZOT [National Council of Trade Unions]: "The committees are trade union organizations designed to function within certain administrative units. They take part in the shaping and realization of the political life of a given settlement. They represent the trade union membership and its various strata before the state and social organs and economic leaders of the given local settlement or capital city district. They pay particular attention to the situation of the pensioners of the given residential area, to finding solutions to their problems as well as to the concerns of young people. They perform their functions in accordance with the guidelines provided for them by the SZBT [Budapest Council of the Trade Unions], the county trade union councils and the party organs of the given residential area."

For those who can read between the lines it is not hard to see what all this means in actual terms. Among other things it means participation--in cooperation with the local council, of course--in the shaping and implementation of tasks pertaining to social, cultural, public-health related, housing, commercial and transportation provisions, public services and environmental protection that most profoundly affect the living conditions of workers.

Karoly Lendvai and his small team had even received a model plan from the county trade union council to make it easier for them to function. And they were not alone to receive such help. By no means coincidentally, the local council and party leadership had also been provided guidelines to be used as the basis of cooperation. Have the addressees thoroughly read these guidelines? We still do not have a convincing enough answer to this question. But let us first look at what the committee did accomplish during this past period given its narrow scope of movement. What have they been able to do with the half steam they have had to work with as a result of lacking support?

"Once we took a survey of people with low pensions. The county trade union council had asked us to do this. We have also examined the difficulties of the disadvantaged. In Turje, by disadvantaged we mean the local gypsy population. In addition, we have also organized volunteer work in the village. This is how the school gymnasium was built, for example."

And this was the end of his list.

Empty Seat at the Executive Council Meeting

"What do you know about the village's settlement development plan? Knowing the opinions of the organized workers of Turje, have you had any say in the matter? Have you been allowed to make any recommendations?"

The middle-aged man is shaking his head.

"Officially no. While walking on the street and elsewhere I do usually tell the local leaders about what concerns the workers at any given time and what they would like to be done, but I have even been told that I was probably mistaken, as nobody had ever complained to them about the matter. They do not believe that I have the right to speak. One of the functions of the committee is to provide signals, signals that should be given credence."

Characterizing it as a reflection of village mentality, Karoly Lendvai also pointed out the fact that the members of the committee are rarely released from their work place to participate in any kind of volunteer work, let alone to enroll in school. The work of the regional committee and the goal of its activities are not understood. Granted, on occasions its members have also exhibited curious ways of thinking. The reason, for example, why they have not asserted one of their rights, i.e. the right to conduct commercial inspections, is because--as they put it--it would be silly to walk into a store in that capacity only to face the prospect of not being able to get anything a couple of days later out of revenge.

Karoly Lendvai can be accused neither of not knowing what he is talking about, nor of being a rookie. As a long-time resident of Turje he knows every concern and problem of the village inside and out.

"Why do you not go to the council by yourself," I asked him.  
"One side will have to take the first step."

"Am I supposed to force my way in there? Last summer I was asked to prepare a report about our work with the promise that it would be taken up by the executive council. They had even told me to prepare to speak at the meeting. Then an hour before the meeting I got a message not to go for I was not needed."

Suprised Council President

Karoly Lendvai and I went together to see the secretary of the village party leadership, Janos Varga.

"In your opinion why are the trade unions, of all organizations, absent from more important meetings and conferences?" I asked.

"I do not really know," replied Janos Varga. "Somehow we tend to forget about them... Even though I think that the committee is doing a good job. Perhaps all it is is a bad habit. The old name of the organization, intertrade committee, was somehow pretty hard to comprehend. Many of us did not even know what it was supposed to be doing."

"But now you know, since the party leadership was also informed about it in the form of a written guide. The guide even talks about the party having to provide ideological guidance..."

"Yes, it does," replied the party secretary.

After that, however, we ran out of things to say to each other. So our swollen little group continued its way to the council house.

The president of the council, Tibor Perom, received us with genuine surprise.

"Cooperation is not good?" he asked in disbelief, and almost reproachfully. "But every time they meet we make the conference room available to them..."

It seems to me that at this point we need to clarify a couple of things. Unfortunately we must didactically explain here the nature of the regional committee's entire scope of authority. We need to clarify that the committee is not a "self-convening" group; the subjects they discuss may be of interest to the council, and vice versa.

The president of the council told us that on occasions they had received specific help from the committee, namely in the organization of volunteer work and various programs. But inviting the secretary of the committee to the meetings of the executive committee? Well, he does not know. Maybe they will pay more attention to it in the future, he promised.

Karoly Lendvai believes that this whole question of cooperation is a matter that should be worked out with the help of the county trade union council. We think that it could be done even without intermediaries. There is one important condition, however, that must be met for this to be successful: Getting to know--and respect--each other's work better.

9379

CSO: 2500/429



## REEVALUATION OF 1956 REVOLUTION IN LENINIST TERMS

Budapest ELET ES IRODALOM in Hungarian 22 May 87 p 3

[Article by Gyorgy Timar: "1956, the Lessons of a Cataclysm; Book Review of Laszlo Gyurko's Book '1956'"]

[Text] After his Lenin biography and the portrait of Kadar, Laszlo Gyurko has now published his third volume of political essays under the title "1956". It was a bold undertaking since this date is, despite the three decades that passed, undeniably the most neuralgic point of our recent historiography. This is indicated by the fact that while in literary works and people's talk we may often read and hear references to it as a revolution, official statements still call it counterrevolution. Since this is not only a question of semantics but of interpretation, Gyurko could not avoid an assessment of the personality and role of Imre Nagy, nor could he disregard the political tug of war between 1953 and 1956. (Moreover, he objectively depicts the catastrophic policies of the years prior to 1953, those arbitrary abuses of the power concentrated "in three and a half persons" which had caused so much pain. Gyurko's great merit is that he describes the events and their background with much more nuance than earlier analyses, including Balint Szabo's book on the 1950s. The greater perspectives of the past three decades have indeed been helpful to him in doing this.

Revolution or counterrevolution? Gyurko's answer to this question is: "In 1956 various elements, intentions and trends mingled . . . However there was no revolution then, at least not in the Marxist sense, according to which revolution means the creation of a new social order which is more developed than its precedent." At another place in his book Gyurko also offers a convincing analysis of the future that the country would have faced without the Soviet intervention of November 4. He proves, by citing not only the communists, but also the Social Democrat Anna Kethly, that in a given moment, as a result of the "piston-effect" and whipped-up emotions, all possible alternatives of denouement pointed toward bourgeois restoration, rather than socialist democracy. "There is an open counterrevolution in Hungary," said Anna Kethly to the West German politician Herbert Wehner. Yet she can hardly be accused of sympathy for the communist. Thus the truth is that 1956 was not a revolution in the Marxist sense. However, for the sake of greater accuracy, it was in the Leninist sense. For it was not accidental that Lenin remarked after the Kronstadt revolt that "counterrevolution is also revolution" at

least insofar as its nature is concerned; it is also a condition of counterrevolution to have a situation in which the leaders can no longer govern in the old way and the governed do not let themselves be governed in the old way. However all this does not change the fact that on October 23, 1956 a democratic upheaval broke out against a clique which not only mumbled Attila Jozsef's "new fairy tale" but also made it true, and that this revolution gradually turned into counterrevolution, as a result of the shocking narrow-mindedness, dilettantism, lack of strength and loss of balance of the successive leaderships.

Today's young people cannot understand the situation of that time if they are not clearly aware of the fact that in the demonstration which can certainly be viewed as positive (this fact alone is already tragic) two elements, which were irreconcilable from the very outset marched together: i.e. those who considered the Rakosi clique a disgrace to socialism, and thus viewed them as its traitors (they include the writer of this article), and demonstrated in favor of democratic socialism (all other kinds of socialism being nonsense, as it has since been proved), and on the other hand those who, equating socialism with Rakosi and company, took aim at the socialist system itself. The latter had an easier task: they attacked from the safe entrenchment of the program of struggle against Stalinism, ignoring the fact that most victims of the Rakosi clique formed part of the Communist Party. Elements of this second category already joined, although still only in negligible numbers, the October 23 manifestation. Gyurko recalls 19 slogans of that day (I can confirm that they had really been voiced). May I complete his collection with two others? I walked with the writers' group, along with Geza Kepes, and we shouted at the crossing of Bajcsy-Zsilinszky avenue and Nagymezo street: "We want a clean party" as a reaction to a handful of demonstrators' "Free Mindszenty" call. There is no doubt in my mind that those who appeared with guns by night-fall in front of the building of the Radio were not the students who demonstrated for socialism in the afternoon. (It is a noteworthy fact that in Holland there appeared news about a Hungarian "revolution" already on October 22!)

Thus in the procession of demonstrators who agreed on "what should not be" the earlier and posterior enemies had been brought together. And as soon as the question "what should replace it" emerged, the fight against each other started. This was a struggle in which, for reasons well known, the counterrevolutionaries had gained even more ground, since the ill-considered and hurried first call for Soviet troops offered an excellent opportunity for them to immediately name the democratic revolt a national freedom fight. And since longing for national independence was alive in the masses, so they also managed to rally the communists to this movement, which seemed attractive in the beginning, but shifted increasingly to the right and ultimately turned into what should be considered secessionist policy.

Why did I say that Gyurko's book provides a more nuanced approach to the events than its precedents?

I have various reasons for this. Gyurko is, to my knowledge, the first author who did not adopt, from the arsenal of arguments of the Rakosi group, that "we



said it in advance" slogan that the dogmatists managed to keep alive for the times which followed the 1956 events, and which unfortunately proved to be of lasting effect. He duly reports on the discussions in the Petofi Circle approvingly, what thus far none of the official chronicles had failed to observe, that it was a serious mistake of the Petofi Circle to go into the streets with their criticisms. In this current period of "glasnost" perhaps even the earlier critics will admit that it was deplorable to insist on bringing up this desperate "argument" of the Rakosi group under already consolidated conditions and at a time when the kind of "we have said it in advance" dogmatists had already been eliminated. I never understood what else those speakers of the Petofi Circle who advocated beneficial changes could have done in order to publicize their criticism. Should they have gone to the Radio? Or to the editorial board of the Szabad Nep? Or would it have been better if they had not criticized the existing conditions which were outrageous to socialism?

Gyurko also avoids blaming the 1955 assembly meeting of Hungarian writers and some of the sharpest regime critics at that convention for the worsening of the situation, what the dogmatists did, substituting the results for the causes. If a few writers spoke up in 1955 more explicitly than usual, it happened because Rakosi, who in the summer of 1953 just barely escaped unscathed at the price of obligatory self-criticism, seized the reins again in March 1955. He was then obviously intent not only to slow down the progress of democratization, which bore Imre Nagy's name, but also to thwart it with the accusation of "revisionism." (He had good reasons to do so. He was aware of the fact that if the process of rehabilitations—which had been going on since 1953—reaches the Rajk trial, he will lose power at once). In my opinion not to protest against Rakosi's maneuvers would have amounted to a "treason of the clerks." Obviously Gyurko thinks the same, although he does not point out this in his otherwise fairly objective work.

The "revisionist" label mentioned above that Rakosi had launched as a sort of miracle weapon is one of those concepts which unfortunately survived their author's political demise for a long time. This adjective which Gyurko avoids to use, the first time in the history of this kind of literature, became a source of confusion for years in the camp of supporters of socialism. At the party seminars we have learned that the revisionists had been Bernstein and the II International, thus a faithful revolutionary should of course loath this stigma. However the faithful revolutionary should have kept in mind that it was Lenin who had called attention to the need of a perennial revision of revolution, and gave at once good example for this by rectifying certain earlier theories of Marx, which in view of new developments turned out to be obsolete. The intent of renewal is only viewed as wrong by the sham revolutionaries who obstinately stick to the status-quo. Revisionism? Socialism is being threatened by two enemies: one is called bourgeois restoration, the other sham leftist, voluntarist conservatism (which in its objective impact promotes—as we have experienced it—the former, i.e. it provides arguments against socialism.) Thus it would be reasonable for us to erase, as Gyurko does, revisionism as a pejorative concept from our political dictionary, particularly since the Rakosi clique and the relatively small group of their associated dogmatists have skillfully abused it. Anyone who

criticized them was immediately called "revisionist." Thereby, the revisionists tended to confirm the same idea as the militant supporters of the 1956 revolution: democracy, i.e. that Stalinism and communism are identical concepts. It was for this reason that Gyula Hay's memorable "publicity stunt" (that revisionist Ervin Gyertyan called it), i.e. his article "Why I do not like Kadar's Kucsera? became such an important document of that period.

Yet no mistake should be made; by throwing off the ballast of the petty revisionism concept our reproval of the policies of Imre Nagy—who from the first moment of his public appearance in the fall of 1956 yielded ground, and ultimately on October 30 retreated into an unwritten alliance with the rebels against socialism, paving thereby the way for bourgeois restoration—cannot be withdrawn. Most of his followers could not anticipate his errors and therefore their retrospective censure is not justified. It would also be unreasonable to criticize them since between the summer of 1953 and the fall of 1956 Imre Nagy seemed to be the only public figure who embodied an opening toward socialist democracy. In other words, he was the key personality in the fight against the dogmatists clique on socialist grounds, as it was so convincingly proved by Szilard Ujhelyi's TV documentary. During the summer of 1956 only a secret report by the CIA, cited by Gyurko, claimed that Janos Kadar was Rakosi's strongest adversary. Most of those who had been the, also retrospectively, stigmatized as revisionists and who were prematurely "glasnost-partisans," were completely unaware (I am citing again Ujhelyi) of the mere existence, let alone the importance and future role, of a party group crystallizing around Kadar. And I repeat: it was impossible to foresee Imre Nagy's loss of values and balance and his theoretical and practical capitulation. Unfortunately Imre Nagy was not the wisest of statesmen, and thus he did not foresee that he could not have kept his position as premier even without the November 4 intervention (not even as long as Peidl did in August 1919). Without that intervention he would have been swept away by the rightists, rather than by the leftists. Is it a personal tragedy? Yes it is, but what is it in comparison with the nation's tragedy?

Gyurko's "1956" clarified many things, but a few aspects still remain unexplained. He certainly makes it clear that most rebels in the second week were not the same as the enthusiastic students of the first week. The program of "revolutionary purity" was replaced by manhunting in the streets, undertaken by released common law criminals and openly counterrevolutionary elements. I am aware of the fact that social democrats and communists had weighed at that time, in the beginning of November, the possibility of bringing to heel the lynching street gangs. However, since by that time weapons had been—as a result of Imre Nagy's weakness and constant temporization—in the hands of the gang's, it is questionable to what extent this could have been done and if yes, at what price, if it had succeeded at all. (It was not accidental that scores of canvas-covered trucks had been launched from the Bankgasse in Vienna to Hungary, under the guise of food and other materials, labeled "Relief for Hungary" which were loaded with weapons to the top. There are some local witnesses of this fact.)

Gyurko's book also contains many other lessons. For example, that the control of the Communist Party by non-party members, which was Lenin's dream, can only be implemented through the proper institutions. Further that the party and the nation may suffer tragic damage if one or the other political leader interprets this as a denial of the party's leading role (instead of as an affirmation of that role), and proceeding from this thesis tries to annul the control and its pertinent institutions, converting thereby the potential partner into an adversary. Another important lesson is that the party achieved its greatest successes when: 1. political competition forced it to try and convince persistently and on a daily basis the masses, and 2. when it invited the masses to join, if alas not directly its decision-making sphere, but at least its sphere of action. And it became isolated when, taking things easy and feeling uncontrolled, started to operate with dictates and slogans, vindicating the people's approval from above. This lesson is inordinately important and should be kept in mind in the long run. For if the leadership becomes isolated from the masses, if it listens only to what it wants to hear, then it would block the development, the directing and accelerating of which has been its goal. The political constellation which preceded the perestroika had shown that an ideology, the authors of which consider it revolutionary, may become a drawback if it blocks the development of productive forces.

One of the conclusions which may be drawn from the experiences of 1956 is that socialism without communists (this was the dream of some of the dramatic personae in 1956 and the bluff of the Western propaganda organs, who were not at all interested in the victory of socialism) is sheer nonsense, provided of course that the socialists are not merely syllabus-parrots, but democrats who are cooperating with the masses institutionally and on a daily basis, and are attentive to the complaints of people and ready to redress the wrongs. This is not only my conclusion from the trauma of 1956, Gyurko thinks the same.

If there is something that I would object to in his work is that there are a few ambiguities in his book which could have been avoided, had he posed the pertinent questions to the participants in the events who are still alive, instead of simply speculating about the answers. I find several such omissions in his work which is otherwise written with great circumspection, tolerance and poise. The most glaring example of this is a paragraph on page 412 when he writes about Janos Kadar. "In which moment did his doubts grow into certainty . . . cannot be found out. Nor can we know when his perception matured into resolve." (The quotation refers to Kadar's break with the Imre Nagy government.) Is this something that Gyurko, who is also Kadar's biographer, did not know? Or he knows it after all? For on the following page, the 413rd, he writes: "Imre Nagy announced to the newsmen present the resolution that Hungary quits the Warsaw Pact. Kadar then decided that he had to break with the government." Thus what was it that was impossible to find out?

On the 54th page of the book we read: "It is not clear how Imre Nagy reached the Parliament?" (I.e. from his apartment in Buda on the evening of October 23.) Gyurko lists six versions as possibilities, among them: "Someone says that Valeria Benke, president of the Radio, invited him." Once again a



speculation, instead of asking Valeria Benke. In this case it would have been futile to interview the then president of the Radio. For, concerning Imre Nagy's trip to the Parliament on that evening, the author of this article is probably better informed.

When the lamps on Kossuth square had gone out and the crowd lit paper torches, I walked away from Jozsef Waldapfel and approached Peter Veres, asking him what was he waiting for. I knew of course the answer beforehand: "For what? For what? For Imre Nagy!" I then told uncle Peter that perhaps we should pick him up. The old man (he was old for me) replied that the car was not available to him (he probably meant the automobile of the Writers' Federation, which was used by the Polish writer Adam Wazyk, who arrived to Budapest in the morning on that day and whom I myself picked up at the Ferihegy Airport). "And if I could get one?" I asked, out of pure egoism, since I loathed to wait any longer. "That is different, then I would pick him up." Thereupon I accompanied uncle Peter to the cars parked in front of what is now the Sofia restaurant, the drives of which were standing and gazing around. I asked one of the motorists: "Excuse me, whom are you waiting for?" "For Imre Nagy, as everybody else," was the answer. "Would you then bring him here?" "Of course but I do not know where he lives." "This is uncle Peter who knows. Do you know uncle Peter?" This was a purely rhetorical question since everybody knew Peter Veres, at least by face, including my guy who was at once ready to give a lift to the "old man." Thus they left in due course, but I am not sure whether Imre Nagy really came back with them. For it is possible that by the time Peter Veres arrived to his home, someone got there before him. Yet the relatively long time that elapsed makes me think that no other person was around, and that Imre Nagy arrived at the Parliament with Peter Veres and the driver I picked up at random.

He was received with great ovation as soon as he appeared on the balcony. And to his address "Comrades" came indeed, as Gyurko described it, the answer in a chorus: "We are not comrades." But let me elaborate on his remarks. This outcry came from a limited sector of the square, from the direction of the Rakoczi statue, and this is quite a significant fact. Anyway this was enough to make Imre Nagy start, in that very moment, his more or less uninterrupted retreat, that lasted almost two weeks and that he immediately change tune saying: "My Hungarian brothers." (This circumstance is not noted in Gyurko's book.)

This is all that I wanted to add personally to this troubling book, which concludes on an equally troubling long interview: members of a rebel group recall those days from a perspective of 30 years. What they tell us, awkward as it be, justifies the analysis and conclusions of the author. And we, one-time witnesses, welcome the fact that nowadays it is finally possible to discuss the events of 1956's historic cataclysm, although I am sure, and Gyurko does not deny it, that since there are still many unexplored data and unclear events, this book will hardly be the last on on this topic. (Magveto Publishers, 479 pages.)

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## GLOWCZYK ADDRESSES FOREIGN COMMUNIST PRESS REPRESENTATIVES

AU290906 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 22 Jun 87 p

[Unattributed report: "The Country and Party After the 10th Congress--Jan Glowczyk's Meeting With TRYBUNA LUDU Foreign Guests"]

[Text] On 21 June Jan Glowczyk, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, received foreign guests of TRYBUNA LUDU representing 35 communist newspapers from several continents. He presented to them some of the country's current political problems and paths of party work.

He recalled that the party is in the first phase of implementing the decisions of the 10th Congress, which affirmed the line of socialist renewal that is opening up for the country new prospects of a resolute and consistent consolidation of the fruits of socialism; development of socialist democracy and self-government; and a growing role of trade unions, farmers' unions, and numerous associations.

We describe our line of reasoning by the following slogan: Accord--struggle--reforms--socialist renewal, he said. Guided by this, we are proceeding along a joint path with other socialist countries, with the Soviet Union. We are pleased that a refreshing breeze has touched the socialist countries. We need it all the more. It gives us more strength to struggle against an opponent who has been, is, and will remain a part of the discrepancies and difficulties that are a natural feature of building a new system. For we are at the beginning of a new era, an era of socialism.

J. Glowczyk said that when noting the mistakes that have been made and criticizing existing shortcomings, we must appreciate and respect what has already been done, because this is the result of hard work by the workers' class, peasants, and intelligentsia.

Right now our attention is focused on problems with consolidating the party's position, and especially the position of its primary bodies, in performing a leadership and service role.

Replying to questions, J. Glowczyk discussed at length the question of relations between the state and church, and against this background described the results of the latest visit by John Paul II and the results of the first opinion polls on this subject. He stressed, among other things, that the assessments contained in these polls differ completely from the lies and devious information supplied by some Western correspondents.

Comrade Glowczyk recalled Wojciech Jaruzelski's words spoken before John Paul II's departure: "Your Holiness will shortly bid farewell to the fatherland. You will carry a picture of it in your heart, but you cannot take its real problems with you. The nation remains here, between the Bug and Odra rivers. It has to face challenges on its own."

Answering one question, J. Glowczyk stressed the need for the party to rejuvenate and find a common language with the young generation. This is already happening, though not to the extent that would satisfy us. However, it is a fact that new people are joining the party, and most of them are young workers. This is the path with which we are concerned. However, we must be patient and principle-minded, and we must see to it that the party receives the kind of members who will remain in it, come rain or shine.

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CSO: 2600/706

## DEFENSE SPOKESMAN ON FOREIGN PROPAGANDA

AU010837 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 26 Jun 87 p 3

[Interview with General of Brigade Leslaw Wojtasik, press spokesman of the Ministry of National Defense, by Major Ireneusz Czyzewski: "Activity on Foreign Orders"—date and place not given]

[Text] [Czyzewski] We have noticed that Western centers of subversion have been particularly interested in the Polish Army lately. Signs of this interest are extremely varied. In fact, not a single day goes by without some station that is well known to us painting our army in "dark colors," resorting to instigation, and undermining the prestige of our armed forces in the eyes of society. Do you share this view, Comrade General? How do you assess this new trend?

[Wojtasik] We are indeed a kind of "favorite subject" for subversive Western stations like "Free Europe," "Voice of America," and other stations in the Western countries called "Polish-language" stations. I would also include among this group some of the "warlike" Western correspondents who think that time has stopped and that nothing in Poland and the world has changed, and that looking for sensations and stories that are far removed from the truth but exciting is still the most important matter.

But is this a new trend? Yes and no. No, because the people and political centers who are behind these stations and who inspire and finance their activity have always been troubled by everything that has served to consolidate Poland's strength and cohesion. As I recall, people and milieus that support this cause have always been sitting on this subversive gun sight, so to speak. Today there is no doubt that the army is serving the idea of cohesion as well as it can. What is new, however, is that the forms of subversion have exceeded its contents. For example, there is a veritable flood of vocabulary that has not been specially invented at all. There is a multitude of epithets and the most curious pieces of sensation that can only be coined up by an imagination suffering from political pathology.

[Czyzewski] We know from propaganda theory that this is typical in a situation where there is no factual argumentation and no real reason to criticize.

[Wojtasik] I would like to avoid theory in this talk, but I agree, that is the way it is. However, let me say this--we do not avoid criticism at all. We are open to criticism, and the editorial team of ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI confirms this by printing appropriate articles. So attempts by Radio Free Europe, for example, to present what it considers sensational information, which in fact has already been presented in the military press, seem very amusing.

[Czyzewski] One might think we ought to avoid this subject because later on someone might capitalize on it.

[Wojtasik] Our open-curtain information policy is clear. In any case, the firm majority of Poles are capable of separating the wheat from the chaff very quickly and very well. Here, the wheat consists of our principle-minded intentions, and the chaff consists of what we have grown accustomed to calling a propaganda murmur which subversive stations are fond of broadcasting.

[Czyzewski] Do you have in mind the proven failure of this type of subversive activity as illustrated by opinion polls? Do the results of these polls give us military people cause for satisfaction?

[Wojtasik] Yes. The results of opinion polls that are held regularly on this subject have been public knowledge for years, and the army, as a state institution, can boast very great social prestige.

[Czyzewski] But perhaps this prestige is the cause of the political irritation that later reaches us in the form of a loud wave of propaganda.

[Wojtasik] Nothing has changed here. Everything that has strengthened Poland has immediately become the subject of unprecedented propaganda attacks by hostile political forces in the West. These attacks are the result of certain political concepts. Right now they are diminishing in strength. One can no longer meddle in Polish affairs with impunity and break one's own record of propaganda nonsense--the situation has altered. Poland is an energetic participant in international dialogue and an important partner in talks, cooperation, and economic exchange. This is also upsetting our adversaries. They would like to see us in a state of stagnation and isolation, in permanent internal conflict, incapable of acting independently. Plans meant to achieve such a situation have generally failed. Their fiasco is obvious to the entire realistically-thinking world. In order for this fiasco to happen, a great national effort was necessary. This effort is still not over, but its goals are known.

Why am I talking about this? The army as an institution of the socialist state and army people as Poles have played a role that is difficult to exaggerate in this process that will go down in history as a stubborn aim toward accord, stabilization, and far-reaching social reforms. Thanks to this, the army enjoys social support and confidence.



[Czyzewski] The mechanism of propaganda seems simple to us. Because one concept of dismantling socialist Poland from within has suffered a fiasco, one of the reasons for which is the fact that the Polish Army is an ideologically and politically cohesive institution and, one might say, impervious to antisocialist activity, a new concept is naturally arising—to undermine cohesion, sow ideological uncertainty, and weaken the bonds with society.

[Wojtasik] In theory, this mechanism indeed seems simple and is not new at all. The adoption of practically every single one of these paths as a guideline of activity against us has revealed a complete lack of knowledge about the reality in socialist Poland, about its army, and about the motives that inspire young Poles to discharge their duties in it with dedication. These intentions are doomed to failure and lack of support, unless of course we consider politically blind people for whom playing with the supreme affairs of the country is a game like any other.

[Czyzewski] Experience shows that there is no shortage of people like this. Some of them even accused "Solidarity" of committing a mistake by not "tampering with" the army.

[Wojtasik] It is wrong to say that there were no attempts to do so. What is important, however, is their zero effect.

[Czyzewski] According to the strategic thinking of the subversive centers acting against Poland, this mistake is to be corrected by young people. Those who, whether they like it or not, are regarded as political bankrupts today have been trying hard to make young people do so. For example, they are pinning major hope on a group described as "Freedom and Peace" ["Wolnosc i Pokoj"]. Frasiński was very satisfied that he had founded "a new initiative, a new group of fighting people possessing a program, backing, and proposals."

[Wojtasik] I can understand this "satisfaction," though it is just another sign of downright absurdity. Yes, absurdity, because if there is no group of people like the former leaders of "Solidarity," nor program, nor social backing, nor proposals for today and tomorrow, then any backer is good, even if over a dozen of them accumulate all over the country. And this is the situation we are dealing with.

[Czyzewski] It is interesting that these backers are popular among the same Western political circles. Examining the way in which they are hailed by subversive stations, one might even talk of a certain "new method" that is appearing, whereby names that were repeated to the point of boredom at every opportunity are no longer being mentioned on the air, but their place is being taken, again to the point of boredom, by references to everything that is the subject of efforts by domestic defenders of "peace and freedom."

[Wojtasik] From the point of view of the principles of subversive influence, this is a very convenient situation for the Western centers. It is not as easy to find a group of people ready to serve foreign interests as willingly as the group in question, without any internal qualms, and in matters concerning Polish national honor, such as defense and military service. For if one erases

from the speeches of these people the various camouflaging explanations and common epithets designed to gain cheap popularity, such as statements about ecological matters, then one basic goal remains--to undermine the country's defense capability deliberately, energetically, and according to a plan. I think even someone without much education but guided purely by common sense is capable of appreciating the value and significance of the civic duty to defend the country, a duty that is both constitutional and patriotic and one that is enshrined in long national tradition in our case.

[Czyzewski] The kind of attitude we are discussing and its resultant activity require social assessment. One can make various categories of assessment, legal, political, and of course moral...

[Wojtasik] Of course we can view the matter in all these contexts, and whichever context we choose, we will find enough evidence to identify this type of action and call it by its proper name. However, I would like to suggest yet another angle, one that is justified by Polish reality, the reality of modern Europe and the world, and the reality of all the danger stemming from the modern world. In other words, a human angle. I want to consider how this situation is viewed by people who are often far removed from politics. There is concern over the fact that the armaments course generated mainly by U.S. politics with the active support of U.S. allies has assumed a very dangerous nature. There are intermediate-range missiles in western Europe, far advanced American plans to transfer the arms race to space in the form of a destructive "Star Wars," a new generation of conventional weapons, and the entire monstrous potential of strategic nuclear weapons on land, sea, and air. It seems that we are one enormous target for nuclear missiles. One can even specify exactly what payloads there are and where they are aimed at.

I believe the Poles are more aware of the danger than ever before. And not only they. Please notice how peace movements have developed in Western countries. It is true that they are politically varied. But they are unanimously geared toward an energetic protest against American arms policy. Demonstrations, the picketing of bases, and the organization of public opinion, all of this boils down to a propagation of a way of thinking in which a condemnation of war and everything that can lead to it is the supreme canon. The police in those countries do not like this at all. Acting in defense of the "ideals" of the West, especially those set by Washington, they are putting people like these in prison, including clergymen, without further ado.

[Czyzewski] Such a far-reaching arousal of social consciousness is also an element of hope.

[Wojtasik] And this is what I now want to talk about. Of course, mobilizing public opinion is very important. However, hope is best nourished by facts. These facts are being supplied most of all by the Soviet Union and its open and flexible disarmament initiatives, which reflect the needs of the modern world. This is a chance for us. These facts are generally known as far as the essence and details are concerned.

So we are living between concern and hope. We as a country and as a society are consolidating the latter with all our strength. Therefore our concern over the activity of people who talk about "freedom and peace" but who are in fact acting against these great human values is all the greater.

[Czyzewski] Do you mean the discrepancy between words that sound beautiful and the political reality that serves goals that are opposite in meaning?

[Wojtasik] Unfortunately, that is the way it clearly looks when one considers what our "defenders of peace" are saying. According to them, everything that is happening in the West in the sphere of armaments is justified and necessary, and of course it "serves peace." In other words nuclear missiles, "Star Wars," the new generation of conventional weapons, and the entire monstrous structure of armaments with their material base and superstructure of aggressive doctrine, all this is supported. This applies to every Western country, headed by the United States and its military organization, the North Atlantic Pact. The chief difference between these Polish "defenders of peace" and representatives of some peace movements in the West is that the former see no threat to peace in U.S. politics.

[Czyzewski] If there is so much that is white, there also has to be a certain amount that is black.

[Wojtasik] We are the black. According to representatives of "Freedom and Peace," the Polish Army and especially its allied bonds with the Warsaw Pact is a "threat to peace." That is why while "fighting for peace" they are also calling for unilateral disarmament by the Polish armed forces and for a weakening of their defense capability by encouraging people to refuse military service. In this way, they are calling for disobedience to the supreme legal instrument--our country's constitution, which turns the country's defense into a universal duty and does not sanction differences according to political conviction and one's attitude toward the socialist state.

But there is a second and more general side to the medal. For it is typical that these sworn pacifists, as they consider themselves, have still not found the time to say as much as one word about the great peace offensive being waged by the Soviet Union, which is supported by millions of people all over the world, and which is encountering such attention and support from Poland. It is this offensive that set the climate in Reykjavik and is today setting the tone of the Geneva talks. It is this offensive that is absorbing, in a positive sense, serious political circles all over the world. The dozen or so "defenders of peace" in Poland have not found reason to state their attitude toward it in as much as one single word. Of course, an expression of their attitude is needed by no one, it merely indicates the path of "disarmament" interests, and provides its authors with an unequivocal political and moral assessment.

[Czyzewski] So either we are dealing with political parochialism, or camouflage, or plain social pathology.

[Wojtasik] I think we are dealing with everything at once. For example, in one Warsaw church recently there was a "peace seminar," loudly announced by all stations, which, in the words of the NEW YORK TIMES, "was incapable of working out any unanimous document." We are not surprised. For not every participant, especially those from abroad, whatever the extent of his personal political commitment, could have possessed enough megalomania to accept some of the seminar's humorous proposals.

[Czyzewski] ?

[Wojtasik] I think our domestic "peace" activists tried to whip up support for the idea of "alternative military service outside Poland's borders."

[Czyzewski] And in what countries did they think this service could be performed?

[Wojtasik] There is no reason to go into this. Let the cabarets do so. But playing with the supreme interests of the state is not suitable for any cabaret. It is quite simply another piece of political adventurism, which agrees with this movement's ideological precepts in any case.

[Czyzewski] It is these precepts that constitute the beginning. Action is only the effect of thinking. What are the sources?

[Wojtasik] The guiding programmatic thought of these people is the conviction that there can be no talk of guaranteeing peace unless first of all freedom is guaranteed for citizens, and I mean freedom in a very anarchical sense of the word. These people are convinced that the socialist system and the communists are unable to create suitable conditions for them. And right now, the real political goal of this group is making itself clear--a struggle against the socialist system. So, peace and freedom are only a camouflage. We find complete confirmation of this in the facts.

[Czyzewski] I read in one quite vain report on this seminar about a memorandum that is supposed to be "the first joint West-East document on human rights."

[Wojtasik] There are more memoranda like this. This is not even vanity, but a downright and deliberate ignoring of universally known international instruments, for example the CSCE Final Act. Who can agree that this memorandum suits the norms of international activity? No state represented in Helsinki will do so, and neither will the church.

[Czyzewski] And yet this seminar was held in a Warsaw church. There were clergymen present.

[Wojtasik] This is indeed regrettable, but we must differentiate between the church as an institution and the stance of individuals. As far as I know, the vicar made the church available for political reasons, despite the written stance of his superiors. So the presence of clergymen at a clearly political event discussing such issues as refusing military service is all the more surprising. One clergyman even noticed a moral value in this, allegedly in



accordance with the church's teachings. And yet the Second Vatican Council spoke out unequivocally on this issue in the document entitled "The Church in the Modern World." We read in point 79 of this document: "War has still not been eradicated from this world. As long as the threat of war exists and there is no authority possessing the appropriate international power, governments cannot be deprived of the right to fair defense, assuming that they have already exhausted all available means of peaceful agreement. Thus, state leaders and all who share with them responsibility for public affairs have the duty to protect the vital interests of the peoples under them, and these serious affairs must indeed be tackled seriously." As far as military service itself is concerned, this document says that "those who serve the fatherland as soldiers should consider themselves guardians of the security and freedom of nations."

Summing up, one must say that the "peaceful" intentions of the "Freedom and Peace" group are yet another sign of anti-Polish and antinational thinking, incapable of being explained either in political terms or in any ethical terms. This is activity on foreign orders.

[Czyzewski] So let us try to fit it in to the context of the present, the context of our life as a society and our immediate and long-term plans. It is obvious we are dealing with a very reactionary wave....

[Wojtasik] Reactionary, and therefore very frail. As we know from history, political movements with no social support and therefore pseudopolitical have never been able to gain a permanent place in society. This is because they expressed purely personal ambitions, and not universal aspirations. That is the way it is in this case as well.

[Czyzewski] Perhaps the only difference here is that previous movements did not have the advantage of publicity like this one has.

[Wojtasik] What is more, this publicity is going to increase. There are several reasons for this, and they form the context you ask about. I will start with the army. The very high social prestige which the army enjoys is supplemented by another supporting factor, possessing an international dimension. Please notice why subversive stations paid such little attention to the recent "Opal 87:" exercises. There was complete silence on this subject, which is very enlightening.

This is because all the lies which have hitherto been applied were immediately dispersed by the foreign observers representing the 22 CSCE signatory states. They accorded recognition to the soldiers taking part, and confirmed that the exercises conformed to the defense principles of our military doctrine. Why did Radio Free Europe not ignore the aims of "Freedom and Peace?" Therefore, alternative methods are being sought today, because one cannot hit the bull's eye without the risk of disgrace.

[Czyzewski] The predecessors of our "pacifists," acting on a level that was somewhat different yet at the same time politically similar, voiced the slogan "the worse it is, the better." Can we expect a reincarnation of this slogan?

[Wojtasik] It is not needed, because the old slogan is still alive. I have spoken about the expected strengthening of subversive propaganda activity. The change that is taking place is quite simply for the better--reform is proceeding, and the country is stabilizing. The joint activity between the church and state is also strengthening, which of course cannot appeal to those in favor of a troubled and divided Poland. This is confirmed by Pope John Paul II's third visit to Poland. For these reasons as well, activity is being undertaken which in the subversive minds of its organizers is meant to disrupt or even halt this positive process. We must view the organizers and guests of the abovementioned seminar from this angle as well. And finally, Poland's real voice, also concerning peace and disarmament, has resounded with particular strength in the shape of the Jaruzelski Plan. This important and innovative initiative is absorbing the attention of the public and that of political bodies in dozens of countries all over the world. This is because people living between concern and hope are being turned toward hope by the favorable impulses being introduced to the forum of disarmament talks by this plan.

One must assume that this offensive serving a favorable picture of Poland in the international arena will not appeal to our adversaries. A lack of arguments will turn into aggression. This will be yet another piece of evidence that the forces that are hostile to us are ready for any arrangement whatsoever just to harm the Poles in any positive step they intend to make. This will not be for the first time and, as life teaches, us, not for the last time either.

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## DAILY DESCRIBES LIFE OF POLISH REFUGEES IN ITALY

AU101455 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 7 Jul 87 p 5

[Article by ZYCIE WARSZAWY permanent correspondent Zdzislaw Morawski: "Polish 'Refugees' in Italy--A Dog's Life"]

[Text] A letter from Rome arrives at a small Polish town. Its addresses read in it: "Dear parents. Everything is very fine here. I have an apartment, and in addition I earn about 7,000 a day..."

A lot of similar letters are sent from Italy to Poland. All of them are optimistic, all of them emphasize that leaving Poland was the right decision and brought enormous economic advantage from the very beginning.

I drive through the crowded streets of Rome's city center. Not far from the Vatican, I stop at a red light at a crossroads. Two young people are moving between the cars. One of them carries a sponge soaked in water, the other a windscreen wiper attached to a stick. The first one sponges a windscreen, and the other scrapes off the water. The windscreen is clean. A hand is stretched out to the driver of the car, and a clenched fist containing payment is withdrawn. Another car is dealt with in a similar way, and another one. Then the light changes to green, and they jump onto the sidewalk.

Young people cleaning car windows can be seen at many major junctions in Rome these days. Usually, they do so without asking the driver. The work used to be done by gypsy children. Now, this service has been monopolized by--Poles. "They are faster and more accurate," an Italian journalist acquaintance of mine says.

Evening in the Via Aurelia. It is hot and stuffy. Polish "refugees" emerge from a tall housing block into the dusty street, seeking a breeze. They live here three to a room. Families receive a separate room. Kitchens, bathrooms, and WC's are shared. Furniture is sparse. They eat at home, usually nothing but noodles, but sometimes with a bit of meat, salad, or seasonal fruit. Bread--in unlimited quantities. Butter--never.

"One can't complain," a young girl tells me. "We get all this for nothing as 'refugees'."

"You're a 'refugee'?"

"Don't be ridiculous," interjects a young man wearing jeans and a t-shirt. "We're all here because we want to live better in the West. There are no political refugees here."

"Have you applied for asylum?"

"No. But we do have economic refugee status, and food, and an apartment that goes with it. We have been here longer, so we live in Rome. But the camp where new arrivals go to is 100 km from here, in Latina. Conditions are worse than here, and it is not possible to earn money."

"And how much do you earn here?"

"Between 5,000 and 10,000 lira a day by cleaning cars. Just right for cigarettes, mineral water, and some minor expenses. Sometimes I get an opportunity to do cleaning work, carry loads, and look after children. You know how expensive it is here? A liter of milk costs \$1, a packet of the cheapest cigarettes \$1.20, a bottle of vodka \$6, and the cheapest shoes from \$20. But when we convert our earnings to zlotys at the rate of 2900 to the dollar, we earn \$100,000 a month."

"How many Polish 'refugees' are there?"

"In Rome and Latina, around 4,000. The number fluctuates. Everyone here is waiting for visas to emigrate to the United States, Canada, or Australia, because one cannot get hold of a livelihood in Italy. Those who are the most apathetic and tired of living without a place of their own agree to go to South Africa, where they still need white technicians, qualified workers, and policemen."

"How long do they wait?"

"It varies from several months to 2 years and more. If someone is healthy, unburdened by a family, knows the language, and has qualifications, he can get a visa. But if someone has a family, or is, God forbid, ill, then he can stay here till he dies. We have an information scientist here who came with a pregnant wife. The child was born with water on the brain. Now nobody wants them. They have been sitting here 2 years, and ahead of them is nothing but a brick wall."

A young cultured-looking man approaches me. He introduces himself, Doctor M. "I am a doctor. I left Poland with my wife after completing my studies. Here I wash windows. I am counting on emigrating to Canada and working in my profession." Why did he leave Poland? "For accommodation reasons," he says. "I come from a large city. I would have had to wait 20 years for an apartment. That is the lifespan of an entire generation. I will set myself up much more quickly in Canada, if they let me go there. I know I owe Poland something. The state paid for my studies. I would rather work in Poland, for my own people. Emigration is a dog's life."



Evening in the streets of Latina. Every other person is unsteady on his feet. They are drunken Poles from a nearby house. The shops in the town display bilingual notices, in Polish and Italian: "NO entry for Poles with shopping bags."

"Because they steal before your very eyes," explains a shop assistant.

Young people, Italians, Arabs, and Asians, loiter in the street in front of the camp. I ask what they are doing there.

"You mean you don't know? Polish girls charge 30 percent of what Italian prostitutes charge."

I try to discover the social composition of the "refugees." No one keeps statistics. But it is known that almost all of them are young, and members of the social fringe are a clear minority. All of them have secondary education. There is a large ratio of technicians, various specialists. There are doctors, engineers, mathematicians, and teachers.

The Italian press carries numerous reports on the Polish "refugees." It says that they even declared a strike because the entrepreneur who delivers their food stole three-quarters of the money he received for this purpose. But that was an exception. Generally speaking, the Italians are full of kindness. The Italian state shares the cost of maintaining our compatriots with the UN refugee committee. There is no need to explain that maintaining Poles arouses doubts among parts of Italian society, to say the least. The country possesses resources, but is poor. It does not have great poverty, but the number of those seeking easy money, mainly from Africa and Asia, is growing day by day.

Fiumicino Airport. The plane from Warsaw has landed. A small crowd of Poles in the arrivals hall. They are waiting for family and friends.

An elderly lady laden with packages appears. A broad, muscular, and suntanned young man greets her. "Mummy," he tells his friends, "has brought me clothes and food. Things are cheap over there, and I don't earn any money here."

Mummy turns out to be a doctor from a small town. She is reluctant to talk to me, a journalist. "Yes, it is true I borrowed money for the ticket in order to bring my son suits, shoes, a coat, pullovers, and of course Polish sausage, cheesecake, and ham. He wrote that he earns very good money, but it emerged from his correspondence that he only has one pair of trousers, sleeps in his clothes, and freezes in winter because he has completely worn out his last coat. So what could I do?" she sighs. "At least he will see the Holy Father."

Yet another Italian journalist phones me, wanting to find out something more about Polish "refugees." He asks: "Why are there no appropriate rules in Poland governing emigration for work purposes? After all, these pseudorefugees who are ruining your image are nothing other than candidates for emigration for work purposes. There are people like that in many countries of the world, including countries much richer than Poland."

I tell him he is right and at the same time ask: "And don't you think politics is involved in this whole business? Don't you think it is very convenient for someone to calculate how many people have run away from Poland without mentioning that Poland is a country where almost anyone can get a passport and which has a manpower shortage?"

"Yes," he replies, "of course. But rules about emigration for work purposes are also needed."

I believe that is true.

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CSO: 2600/706

## FRG POLITICIAN ON PARTY CONTACTS, OSTPOLITIK

LD081419 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 8 Jul 87

[Text] [Announcer] Wolfgang Mischnick, chairman of the West German Free Democratic Party Bundestag group, is ending his 4-day visit to Poland today. He has been a guest of the Democratic Party (SD) Deputies Club. Here is an interview with Wolfgang Mischnick:

[begin recording] [unidentified correspondent] During your last visit to Poland in 1984 you were one of the first West German politicians to visit our country after the lifting of martial law. That visit was remarkable [sygnałowy]. What is the main purpose of your visit with the Polish partners this time?

[Answer in German fading to Polish translation] First and foremost, the aim is to further extend contacts with the SD, which have been in existence for almost 10 years now. We did not break the dialogue even in very difficult situations. During my visit in Poland I would also like to turn toward the future to broaden our cooperation with new elements. We are thinking about going beyond the already traditional contacts between craftsmen and to extend the cooperation to small and medium-size enterprises. The environment and health protection were important elements of our talks. In Warsaw we were able to answer many questions that had arisen in this context.

[Question] The political party which you represent contributed significantly to the process of normalization of relations with Poland. Then, in the seventies, the notion of ostpolitik was born. To what degree has this political term remained current?

[Answer] Ostpolitik is of course a part of the overall policy of the FRG. Because of our location in central Europe the policy toward eastern countries has always had special importance. Linked by Western alliances within NATO and the EEC, we are well aware of the fact that the process of reconciliation which has occurred with France and which we are trying to achieve also with Israel, must also take place with the East, and first of all, Poland. This is natural matter for us, the party of Free Democrats. The process of democratization and reforms which is not taking place in Poland, is also an important motive for further normalization of relations between our countries. I regard the establishing of joint Polish-FRG parliamentary groups as one of the decisive steps in this area. In this way we have reached a new level of our cooperation

which has already been practised by other countries. The FDP and the SD have made efforts for many years to set up such parliamentary groups and we are pleased that our plans have now become reality.

I think that ostpolitik and the policy of detente will acquire additional significance in the coming years, when concrete results are reached in the area of disarmament. These are solutions which are not only contained in agreements but can be verified at any time. This is the only path toward breaking distrust and building confidence. This is the only way in which the means spent on armaments today can be utilized for the benefit of man in the future. [end recording]

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## SEJM DEPUTY ON INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITY

AU060958 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 29 Jun 87 p 5

[Interview with Edward Szymanski, Sejm deputy and chairman of the PZPR Deputies' Club, by Rudolf Hoffman: "The PPR Sejm is Taking Part in Solving the Problems of the Modern World"--date and place not given]

[Text] [Hoffman] There will be a conference of Warsaw Pact heads of parliament in Warsaw at the beginning of July. What will be its focus?

[Szymanski] In the past, these meetings have mainly been devoted to the most important problems involving the international situation. This time, however, the conference will also attempt to enhance cooperation between parliaments. I have in mind a broader and fuller exchange of information on the internal work of parliaments, for example concerning legal solutions and CEMA cooperation. We intend to make the work of CEMA institutions more efficient and raise economic cooperation to a higher level, for example as far as cooperation between enterprises and the functioning of joint enterprises is concerned.

The need to exchange experience is posed by important processes taking place within many socialist states. Proceeding in this direction, the Polish Sejm intends to open an information center with a full-time secretariat and a changeable chairman. This could lead to a certain institutionalization of the cooperation between CEMA parliaments.

[Hoffman] The present Sejm is displaying great international activity, greater than previous Sejms. How can one explain this?

[Szymanski] The Sejm's participation in implementing the chief paths of Poland's foreign policy stems from its function as the state's supreme legislative authority. The present Sejm's increased international activity is connected with the actual political situation in the world and Poland's international position.

Until recently, our country occupied an unfavorable position in the international arena. We remember the restrictions and sanctions imposed on our state by the United States and NATO countries. Remember that immediately after 1981 the Sejm maintained only the thinnest of international contacts. As far as interparty contacts on a parliamentary level are concerned, these were implemented via the PZPR Deputies' Bloc, as well as the ZSL and SD.

The Warsaw visit in February 1987 by Herbert Wehner, chairman of the SPD faction in the Bundestag, deserves special mention. This visit showed that dialogue is essential even in the most difficult times. We can differ and fail to agree with our foreign partners, but both sides should get to know each other's views and stance. Adhering to this principle, we stepped up the foreign contacts of individual deputies belonging to the Sejm Foreign Affairs Committee. Such international activity by the Sejm supported Poland's return to the international arena. Today, we can say that these premises were correct, because their result is that Poland is once again a partner in the shaping of world politics.

Today, Poland is taking part in a series of initiatives aimed at resolving the dilemmas of the modern world, for example, the recently-announced Jaruzelski Plan.

The time has come when the energetic presence of Polish parliamentarians is making itself felt in all world events.

[Hoffman] Could you give a few current examples of this energetic presence?

[Szymanski] The Interparliamentary Union, for example. This has become a place where our situation and interests are presented and explained in full. By the way, our deputies are displaying an active interest in the work of the Interparliamentary Union, proof of which is that 181 deputies out of a 480-deputy Sejm are taking part in this union's work. The work of the Polish group inside the Interparliamentary Union is directed by a 20-man board headed by Deputy Jarema Maciszewski. Our Sejm has already established eight joint groups with this union.

We have also established contacts with the European Parliament in Strasbourg. Toward the end of June, we invited a group of deputies belonging to this parliament's socialist faction to Warsaw. These deputies want to establish permanent contacts with the PZPR Deputies' Club. This was the first Polish visit by a delegation from the European Parliament.

An involvement in international problems also means trips by Sejm delegations to many countries of the world. The U.S. visit by Jozef Czyrek, chairman of the Sejm Foreign Affairs Committee, opened up interparliamentary contacts with this country. Apart from meetings and exchanges of opinion with the parliamentarians of our countries, useful contacts are also being established with communities of Poles abroad, which in turn is leading to a reanimation of Polish emigre circles and their ties with Poland.

Contacts like this frequently serve to revive interstate relations, as was the case with the PRC, and even with the United States and FRG as a result of Sejm Marshal Roman Malinowski's visits to the American Congress and Bundestag in Bonn.

Apart from these classic forms of interparliamentary contacts, Sejm deputies are taking part in all kinds of useful international conferences, for example those on the subject of CSCE, environmental protection, and the preservation of peace.

Thus, in July, the Sejm marshal took part in a conference called "Dialogue as a Universal Foundation of Peace" in Rome. Other deputies took part in a conference convened by the Swedish peace movements and in the Fifth Inter-parliamentary Conference in Bonn.

Worthy of mention are the PZPR Deputies Club's contacts with the SPD parliamentary fraction, which survived the greatest depression in the history of Poland's relations with NATO states, and which are now excellently shaping themselves. These contacts include, for example, a working group concerned with building confidence measures. This is paving the way to contacts in other spheres, and this in turn is making it possible for us to discuss with our West German partner key problems of Europe's future.

[Hoffman] What is the role of deputies' motions, which bring important foreign problems to the Sejm agenda?

[Szymanski] Motions like this illustrate Polish society's keen interest in what is happening in the world and in Poland's role and position in the international arena. Issues which are a subject of concern for our society are also being tackled. For example, the recent motion by Deputy Helena Galus, which dealt with unsatisfactory compensation for Polish citizens who were exploited and physically and economically harmed by the German Third Reich. Although this subject is nothing new, it is one which is still disturbing many Poles. It has been and will continue to be a subject of interest by the Sejm and our government.

During the three sessions of the present Sejm, in other words up to the end of January, our deputies have held almost 12,000 meetings with electors, and these meetings have also involved international problems. In this way, deputies are explaining international subject matter, including Polish foreign policy.

The Polish Parliament is characterized by the fact that it possesses a varied political structure, and this structure contains room for a coalition method of exercising authority. Polish foreign policy is cementing this process. That is why the voice of the Sejm in these issues is unanimous and harmonious.

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## SOCIALIST YOUTH UNION PLENUM THESES

AU292037 Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 25 Jun 87 p

[Theses of the report submitted by the Presidium of the ZSMP Main Administration to the 24 June 10th ZSMP Plenum attended by Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski]

[Text] --The young generation's attitudes are some of the most important instruments for changing the world around us. Young people are not only the nation's future, but primarily its present reality.

--Young people are a social force to which our party attaches hopes for advantageous changes, for a high dynamic of reforms, and for an entry into the 21st century in dignity, good sense, and prosperity.

--The basic principles of our reforms were recorded in the 10th PZPR Congress Program, which is being consulted only too rarely by people in the party and by the youth organization in its work.

--The congress program is not and cannot be an embellishment of libraries and, which is worse, a justification for mental and ideological laziness and even less so for sporadic thoughtlessness.

--Nor can it serve as an alibi for all those who, upon the adoption of the program, decided that further talks with the people and further ideological and programmatic discussions are no longer necessary.

We fail to exploit in our daily ideoeducational work the visions, proposals, and arguments contained in the program. We still encounter views that our party has no feasible programmatic concept to produce changes for the better and mobilize people for more productive work and social militancy.

--Such views continue to be mainly spread by our adversaries and all those who view with a jaundiced eye whatever the Polish people have achieved under the PZPR leadership in the past 40 years.



--The only way we can realize our program is by daily, persevering work, by a stubborn struggle against our shortcomings, by consistent efforts to implement our appointed goals, and by the indefatigable search for new solutions.

--The aim of the party's entire policy is the good of our fatherland and people.

--However, no system can develop automatically and without contradictions and conflicts. A system merely creates opportunities and a framework to be filled in by people's attitudes. That is why he who searches for ways to transform the world must search for ways to transform man.

--We must foster a better attitude toward work. We must stop regarding work as merely a way of earning a living.

--We count on ZSMF organizations and on young people who find stupidity and indifference revolting and who never come to terms with various ills.

--The party counts on young people's principled attitudes and on the fact that in their neighborhoods and at work they will be paragons of social sensitivity and spreaders and promoters of thinking that is dedicated to social militancy and action.

--Many young people continue to experience a serious conflict of values, when seeing how successful their equals are in leading their lives as crafty dodgers and upstarts. Many young men and women continue to search for some other ways, withdraw into themselves and their own four walls, and assume passive attitudes toward reality.

--We are aware of these attitudes, but, while respecting each man's right to choose and determine his own destiny we cannot be indifferent to them.

--It was not the party that has created the thesis about the lost generation. On the contrary, we are aware of the young and want to treat them as a generation of hope.

--We want to treat them as a generation that is Poland's chance now and in the 21st century--a chance for a better future, one that requires concordant cooperation of all generations. However, it is young people who must be promoters of such cooperation.

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## PLANNING COMMISSION VIEWS EDUCATION, POLLUTION

AU081905 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 6 Jul 87 p 2

[Text] PAP--The 4 July session of the Planning Commission Presidium discussed assumptions of the development of educational and upbringing infrastructure up to the year 2000. As Vice Premier Manfred Gorywoda stressed, the program for the development of national education--this program is being drawn up with the help of experts and representatives of many social, creative, and occupational communities--must satisfy the tasks adopted by basic political documents, especially by the PZPR Program and the 10th PZPR Congress resolution, and take into account all changes produced by the rapid development of science, technology, and civilizing, social, and economic progress.

The session indicated the basic determining factors in the development of educational and upbringing infrastructure up to the end of this century. These factors include demographic processes which by the year 2000 will reduce the number of children of preschool age by 285,000 compared with 1990 and the number of children of primary school age by 600,000. At the same time, the number of youngsters of secondary school age will increase by 360,000 and of university students by 845,000. In view of this it is necessary to ensure an "easier" transition from the present acute shortage of primary schools to the situation in which secondary and university schools will be under increased pressure.

The session agreed that carrying out profound qualitative changes in the system as well as eliminating the gap between the present state of the material base and employment in the national education system, on the one hand, and the task of desirably meeting the requirements in this regard are also important determining factors in the development of education and upbringing.

The tasks of developing the base of education and upbringing will include the total spread of secondary education up to 18 years of age, a telling expansion of preschool training, and bestowing a communal character on primary schools so that, while assuming that they will provide lessons during a single shift only, these schools are able to organize extracurriculum and communal functions. The session agreed that the development--especially the quality development--of vocational education, raising the standards of higher learning, and decisive improvements in the schools' physical training base are also crucial tasks.

The session devoted much attention to the role of pedagogical cadres and stressed that teachers' material working conditions and educational standards should be increased.

The session also noted the issues that should be solved during the drawing up of the program for developing educational infrastructure and stressed that social consultations should be an important factor in solving educational problems.

The session discussed the report submitted by the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry, and Food Economy on the implementation of the comprehensive program for improving the forestry economy by 1990. The session noted that the implementation of that program has made it possible to improve the average condition of forests compared with the disastrous period of 1983. However, the session also noted the increasing dangers to forests from sulfur pollution, a phenomenon that calls for accelerating the measures to reduce the damage to forests caused by gaseous vapors.

The session discussed measures to curb the excessive production of sawing timber and agreed that one such measure should be creating conditions for better exploiting medium-sized logs and for fully exploiting poor quality timber, brushwood, and scrap. Better supplies of spare parts to forestry transportation, increased deliveries of new transportation stock, and improvements in prices should be of help in this regard.

The session was attended by representatives of the departments concerned, by experts, by Buguslaw Kedzia, head of the Central Committee Department of Science, Education, and Technological Progress, and by Kazimierz Grzesiak, head of the Central Committee Agriculture Department.

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## LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL'S FUTURE TASKS

AU091614 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 6 Jul 87 p 3

[Interview with Professor Zbigniew Radwanski, chairman of the Legislative Council, by Jolanta Woloszanska on the council's tasks in the coming 3 years: "Between Law and Politics"--date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Woloszanska] At the first session in the present term of the council you said that the council's chief aim is to improve the quality of our laws. What are good laws? What ideal will the council try to achieve?

[Radwanski] Our report on the condition of law discussed in detail the features of good laws, paying special attention to socialist laws. The primary point is that if the laws are to enjoy authority and a broad public support, they cannot be used merely as instruments of expedient political aims that are in conflict with long-term aims. The good laws are stable and internally coherent laws. The legal enactments in force must not seek to achieve results that are incompatible with one another. The good laws are also clearly written so citizens are able to understand them easily.

It seems to me that if we fail to see the laws as carriers of certain moral values we will be oblivious to the difference between the laws and politics.

[Woloszanska] What values should be given priority when laws are formulated?

[Radwanski] The socialist doctrine of law actually does not possess an accurate system of values. Such a system should not only establish what is morally valuable, but also create a hierarchy of values and determine which of them are most important. We lack this hierarchy, and this is a gap in the socialist social sciences. Still, we must have such a system of values when drawing up a new constitution.

[Woloszanska] Will the Legislative Council help to draw up the new constitution?

[Radwanski] In our report on the condition of our laws we stressed that the new constitution should be drafted in this 5-year period. This postulate was addressed to the Sejm and not to the government because our constitutional practice is that the Sejm sponsors such legislative initiatives and implements



them via a special commission. This means that our council will not directly deal with the new constitution, but if the legislative initiative is taken our council will be pleased to cooperate.

However, two important legislative initiatives concerning the constitutional matters should be made by the government. One is the bill on creating laws. This proposal, which continued to be submitted to no avail for the past few years, was finally tackled by the Association of Polish Lawyers last year. The bill has already been drawn up and has been submitted to all legislative bodies. Our council members helped to draft that bill, although not in the name of the council. I think that the government should urgently attend to this initiative and subject the bill to our council's deliberations.

The other initiative concerns the law on the Council of Ministers. It was also submitted a long time ago and its urgency has been stressed by the theses on the economic reform's second stage because they call for reforming the so-called center. Should these two bills be passed, it will be necessary to modify some rules of the Constitution in view of the cohesion of our legal system.

[Woloszanska] One of the enormous defects of our laws is that they fail to keep abreast of scientific and technological development. In many areas we have either obsolete rules or none at all. We have no one to deal with prognostications about legal developments.

[Radwanski] It is indeed true that we have no center dealing with prognosticating the need to create new legal enactments in connection with the development of social setups, science, and technology. For example, we are absolute legal babes in the wood insofar as satellite television is concerned, the spread of which requires a whole series of new rules. Had we given thought to such situations earlier we could have avoided various errors that arise when the laws are created in a hurry.

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POLAND

POLITICAL

BROADCASTING EQUIPMENT, MOONSHINE DISCOVERED

AU131408 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 10 Jul 87 p 3

[Article signed '(n)': "From Radio 'Solidarity' to Moonshine Barrel"]

[Text] The following report was carried by ZIEMIA GORZOWSKA [GORZOW REGION] on 10 July. We present it in an abridged form:

While searching the apartment of a "Stilon" enterprise employee, Security Service officials discovered several pieces of equipment used for radio and television broadcasts, a foreign-made radio receiver for tuning in to radio stations on wavebands that are reserved for the militia, and some ancillary equipment such as amplifiers and antennas.

This equipment, operating at one's home, was capable of jamming TV reception in a large housing estate in Gurzow Wielkopolski. There was no broadcast, however, because the Security Service intercepted the whole electronic jumble.

But this was not the main reason for the detention of the conspiratorial engineer. Quite accidentally in that very same apartment, the security officers discovered equipment for the distilling of moonshine and 10.5 liters of the finished product. According to the regulations in force, people engaged in the illicit manufacture of alcohol are sentenced under accelerated proceedings.

As usual in such cases, one should expect a guilty verdict. So our electronic conspirator will be probably the first political prisoner in Poland to be sentenced for... the illegal distilling of moonshine. Thus, one of the slogans programmed in the memory cell, in other words 'release political prisoners', will gain some topicality at last. But who is going to transmit it?

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## SUMMARY OF FESTIVAL HONORING LUCIAN BLAGA

Bucharest CONTEMPORANUL in Romanian No 25, 19 Jun 87 p 5

[Article by Ion Mircea]

[Text] It is now the seventh spring when a town in Alba County witnesses a rightful occurrence: honoring Lucian Blaga. And this occurs rightfully precisely because what, by its nature, is a permanence, ceased to be a happening.

We recall that not many years ago the passing away of the Romanian poet and thinker was attested in his native place by a modest grave in Lancram. Lucian Blaga's native home was not yet accessible to those who hoped to retrace his childhood steps. And the tutelary and gentle image of the poet--transferred into metal by sculptor Romulus Ladea--had not yet taken its place at the entrance to Lancram, over there, on the edge of the highway, to dominate the environs and the crimson earth "pyramids" of Ripa Rosie. All this has already become a natural feature. The annual May honoring in Sebes, through the Lucian Blaga festival, of his personality, his vast psyche, concurrently with the republishing of his work in critical editions, with the issue of bilingual volumes of his poems, with the preparation--by care of Constantin Noica--for several major European publishing houses, of an exemplary selection from the philosophical work of the author of "Trilogies illustrate the semantic openings of our culture.

Without the efforts and persistence of one man--at the outset one alone, alone with the burden of Lucian Blaga's posterity, alone with the comet and the fervid eagerness to recover its light and the brilliant treasure of his thought--the event in Sebes probably would not have had the magnitude and audience which it involves today. I am talking about teacher Gheorghe Maniu, the director of the Cultural Center of the town, chairman of the Sebes City Committee for Socialist Culture and Education; a teacher, but also a luminophore teacher who initiated all the splendor of this feast of Romanian poetry and thought.

The agreement and support of party and state officials in Alba County, the direct and constant involvement in the festival of the notables of Sebes town, beginning with mayor Dumitru Crisan; the involvement of other contemporary literary and cultural personalities in this "assembly" with a literary and philosophical keynote; but, above all, the watch because of the historical proximity of Alba Iulia, the city where the sun of restoration of unity as a nation and country rose, have turned Sebes, as Blaga stated in another context, into a "silver stake in the meadow of life."

The cooperation with writer Mircea Tomus, founding member of the event, and with the Sibiu Association of Writers, with university professor Dr. Achim Mihiu, head of the sessions of reports on matters from Blaga's philosophical work, provided a clear and comprehensive perspective of the Blaga phenomenon, of his full integration in the native and world pantheon of values. It also facilitated cooperation with the Union of Writers of the Socialist Republic of Romania, with no less than nine publications (ROMANIA LITERARA, LUCEAFARUL, TRANSILVANIA, TRIBUNA, ORIZONT, STEAUA, VATRA, FAMILIA, and ASTRA), with the "Babes-Bolyai" University in Cluj-Napoca, and with theatres in Bucharest and in the provinces and with other agencies of regional or national importance. Also worthy of note in this context is poet Ion Horea, traditional chairman of the jury of the poetry contest organized here, a duty by no means easy because, every year, heaps of poems are mailed to the Blaga Festival for approval. It would be unfair to omit in this enumeration the lively Alba-Iulia poet Ion Margineanu, who was already an attendant at the "round-table" discussion before the festival and whose absence from the proceedings, today, would be hard to imagine.

Seen or unseen the efforts of so many people, writers, researchers, painters and sculptors, actors, soloists, instrumentalists, reporters, photographers, young creators and interpreters drawn by the reputation of the festival to try their chances, under the aura of Blaga, lovers of poetry, the arts or philosophy, come from everywhere, hospitable locals, from enterprise managers to the outstanding staff of the Sebes City Cultural Center--deserve appreciation and gratitude and justify the lofty thought of Lucian Blaga, printed on the foreword to the program: "Man has the belief of a possible advancement, from living in the concrete world of sensible and material forms, to living in whose context the individual psyche feels identical with the universal psyche."

The scientific session of reports this year (with the participation of Achim Mihiu and a group of noted Cluj researchers: Aurel Codoban, Mircea Borcila, Ion Maxim Danciu, Liviu Zapirtan, Mircea Vaida and Vasile Musca); the highlighting of the personality and work of Lucian Blaga, at the Sebes City Museum of History (when speeches were given by Mircea Tomus, Augustin Buzura, Petre Bucsa, Adrian Popescu, Dr. Radu Carpinisan, Gheorghe Maniu, and others); the two painting exhibits of Cluj artists Ioan Sbirciu (introduced by Vasile Salajan) and Manuela Botis (introduced by Mircea Vaida); the poetry contest (and we only mention two of the very promising laureates distinguished on this occasion:



Simon Petru Oprea from Bucovina and Gabriela Nedelea from Arges); the contest of recitation and musical interpretation of poems by Lucian Blaga (of lesser value this year, but with an outstanding evolution: Maria Oprea from Tg. Secuiesc); the recital of Elena Anghel, a teacher in Lancram, a laureate of a prior interpretation contest (jointly with Maria Cristea, folk music soloist); lastly, the two special recitals by actor Ion Buleandra of the Sibiu State Theatre, which add effective artistic strategy to the performances, in past years, on the same stage, by actress Lucia Muresan and other prestigious actors--these are only a few drops from the "life-giving water" of the event honoring Lucian Blaga, now occurring for the seventh time.

I was writing my notes, in my lap, rocked by a night train, and I recalled the face of teacher Gheorghe Maniu, flushed by emotion, on the stage to conclude another memorable edition in the history of this moving event; I saw him again shaking his head, like the peasants do, in the rhythm of his thought, as if his heart was liquid; and suddenly I recalled the liquid consonants from the names of the Blaga brothers, that initial L. L from Light. Among all, Lucian Blaga drew his initial from light but also from lumen, the unit for measuring the intensity of light. Among all, Lucian Blaga proved to be the star that most vividly illuminated Romanian eternity, but also having the resources to measure it.

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CSO: 2700/237

## TEXT OF MOJSOV SPEECH AT UNCTAD CONFERENCE

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["Text" of speech by Lazar Mojsov, president of the SFRY Presidency, at opening of seventh UNCTAD conference in Geneva on 9 July]

[Text] Your excellency, Mr President,

Mr General Secretary of the UN,

Mr General Secretary of the UNCTAD,

Esteemed delegates,

I am very honored to declare, on behalf of the SFRY, the host country of the last, sixth UNCTAD conference, and according to privileges under the rules of procedure, the seventh UNCTAD conference opened.

I wish to welcome all eminent guests and delegates and to express our common desire for the successful work and positive outcome of the conference.

In view of the importance of this conference and of the process of negotiations which begins today, it is natural that together with the feeling of responsibility and concern we, at the same time, cherish a hope that the creative search for a way out of the economic difficulties confronting the entire world will yield fresh results and open up new prospects.

Esteemed delegates,

This beautiful and hospitable city has been the scene of many international meetings. For obvious reasons one of these meetings occupies a special place in our memory. Almost a quarter century ago Geneva hosted the first UNCTAD conference. That meeting, which took place on the initiative of the developing countries and in the wake of the conferences in Belgrade and Cairo, was undeniably one of the milestones in the recent history of international economic relations. The event provided the younger generation of that time with faith in the power of solidarity and inspired renewed belief in the possibility of peace and prosperity for the people on all continents. It also set in motion a wide range of scientific and negotiating actions designed to speed up the economic development and to facilitate the development of a more

just international economic order. At the time the feeling prevailed that mankind was ready to take firm control over its destiny, that peace and prosperity were not available for the chosen ones alone, and that history should not necessarily be an unforeseeable and endless series of ascents and falls, wars and ceasefires, hunger and feeble hopes. Was this merely utopia?

Circumstances in the world have changed over the last 25 years since that first historic conference, but many of the key problems have remained unresolved while some of them have become even more exacerbated. Many of them have been raised within the framework of this body which has become a focal point and a catalyst for new economic ideas, and despite some breakthrough, many of the hopes and expectations remained unfulfilled. Our departure point was the belief that as the right to peace was for all, so was the right to development. However, today we are faced with wars, interventions, poverty, and an even wider gap between the rich and the poor. Perhaps at no time before have international relations been as complex as they are today, with developments which mirror deep contradictions, differences, and divisions in the world.

Ladies and gentlemen, esteemed delegates,

Multilateral economic negotiations within the UN system, in which UNCTAD play the central role, has resulted in various initiatives, in the analyses and adopting of not only general principles but also of specific instruments of international economic cooperation, in the adoption and signing of codices, conventions, programs, and a whole series of operative decisions. In addition, UNCTAD has provided many prominent statesmen and economists with an opportunity to launch their new visions and ideas, suitable for and logical in light of the processes initiated by new and different democratic political awareness. In the 60's and 70's the international community truly made a big step forward in paving the ways for the future.

But, what does the economic development in the world in the current ninth decade point to? Developing countries have again become net suppliers of resources for the developed world. World economy has been even more exposed to frictions resulting from ad hoc short-term measures whose effects have been disastrous for economies in the developing world. But not for them alone. I am afraid that, unless there is new awareness of common destiny and interdependence, the highly developed world itself will soon have to face new critical challenges.

The world economy and international economic relations as a whole have again entered a crisis period. The halt in the development of developing countries has been the longest since the war.

It is beyond comprehension that this is happening at a time when the economies of the developed countries are experiencing technological progress and a new industrial revolution with structural changes which mark the beginning of a postindustrial era. On one hand there is an abundance of means and know-how, of possibilities, development resources, and creative potential and on the

other hand limited opportunities, lagging behind, and inability to stimulate one's own creative forces. The communication and technological revolution has coincided with the loss of a comprehensive vision of how to achieve progress for all of mankind. Where is it going, what new divisions and conflicts will it face at the threshold of the 21st century? There are no firm bridges to straddle the increasingly widening economic gap between the north and the south.

The awareness, which the developing countries admitted recently in the Havana declaration, to the effect that the 80's are a decade lost for development, is disheartening. Numerous and undeniable facts and analyses are very revealing. Since the end of the last decade, the real social product per capita in over half of the developing countries has either stagnated or declined.

We often forget that behind these facts are hundreds of millions of people without jobs, without even minimal social security, millions of young people without future, hungry and undernourished children whose health has already become undermined in the first couple of years of their lives. These figures point to fragile social stability in the countries where neither enormous economic sacrifices nor maximum care in the domestic economy can compensate for the resources which, owing to the deformed trade and monetary international system, are being transferred from the developing to the developed countries as a result of the disastrous decline in the price of raw materials, the general worsening of the terms of trade for the developing countries, the foreign debts and high interest rates. These indicators suggest new potential troublespots in the world, the explosive charges of instability which entails drastic injustice and inequality at the global level.

The international community can and must take a different road. There is no more time left to delay efforts to ensure development for the developing countries. There will be no way out of the crisis for them without economic growth and unless their overall economic potential is enhanced. In other words, to make growth and development possible is to provide conditions for resolving all other world economic problems.

What are the prospects? Which directions are we going to pursue in the years immediately ahead in international economic relations, in the vital sphere of safeguarding security and peace in a world saturated with suicidal and all-destructive weapons?

I do not wish to repeat the well-publicized figures about the enormous funds spent on arms in the world. It is not difficult to imagine--and in any case estimates have already been made about this--what releasing this material, technological, and creative potential would mean for the development of the developing countries and--I would say--for the development of all, for the efforts to resolve the mounting economic and social problems throughout the world, in the north and south, in the west and east.



The indication of positive changes in the sphere of disarmament makes the prospects for changing the ways in which enormous potentials and material resources are used more realistically.

We, of course, welcome the efforts of the great powers to achieve an agreement in the near future which--40 years after the first use and continued modernization and stockpiling of nuclear weapons--should lead to their reduction and elimination. This has created a new climate and material basis conducive to the desperately needed trust and, in addition, a more realistic chance for solving other problems of the same importance and priority as disarmament.

Ladies and gentlemen, esteemed delegates,

It is necessary to develop a new kind of mentality when considering all the vital issues facing the contemporary world. The survival and further development of world civilization must be considered comprehensively. Parallel with the efforts to remove the threat of a nuclear war we must as soon as possible focus our attention on eliminating the existing war conflicts and also the sources of economic and social conflicts and crisis. This inevitably leads to the conclusion that the need to turn our attention to the problems of development of the majority of mankind affected by historical backwardness has again become a priority for the entire international community. This should be the first and most important step on the list of those aimed at resolving other world economic problems and not the redistribution of world resources which together with hysteria on unstable stock markets is often being used by some centers of economic and financial power to frighten both themselves and others. This is merely a logical, reasonable goal of much benefit for the world economy as a whole.

Development funds are not a charitable institution but a necessary, albeit only partial, compensation for the developing countries' unjust position in the development of world economy and for the losses incurred owing to unbalanced trade. For the developing countries to fulfill their obligation to provide public assistance is one way of enabling the poor, and in particular, African and least developed countries to stand on their own feet and to become equal partners in international trade which is in the interest of the developed countries as well.

Only in the context of interdependence in the development of the developed and developing countries is it possible to carry out the necessary structural changes, to secure the transfer of technology, to expand market potentials, to secure jobs and the appropriate development of all economic sectors in all the countries in the world, in the north and in the south. This is also a condition of and a road toward world economic maximum development.

Ladies and gentlemen, esteemed delegates,

Like all other developing countries, Yugoslavia believes that the seventh UNCTAD is a unique opportunity for an open dialogue which will lead to constructive and action-oriented negotiations aimed at reaching general agreements and framework, and for adopting specific political measures in all four areas on the conference's agenda.

In its document on the policy and measures, the Group of 77 came up with specific proposals which will be the subject of specific and, we hope, successful negotiations over the next few days. I would like to draw your attention to a number of, in my view, key issues.

A political dialogue between the debtors and creditors aimed at reaching an agreement about the global frameworks for long-term and development-oriented solutions to the developing countries' debt problems is the only realistic way out of the present debt crisis which is the most serious obstacle to the development of the majority of developing countries and, by implication, to the overall growth in world production and trade. The debtors and the creditors must share the responsibility for and the burden of the debt crisis. This issue has been the subject of important initiatives and proposals put forward by individual statesmen and economists in the developed countries. It should be examined to what extent the proposed formulas are realistic and implementable. One of the possible ways of resolving the crisis is by transforming debts in development projects, linking the repayment with the export volume or gross national product, reducing interest rates, considerably extending repayment periods and, in the case of the least developed countries, writing off the debts completely.

Parallel with the efforts to resolve the debt crisis, it is necessary to halt the present trend of transferring financial resources from the developing to the developed countries through public help and using banks and private capital.

In international trade, parallel with the Uruguay round of multilateral GATT negotiations, it is necessary to use UNCTAD to continue to develop the programs agreed in principle and designed to reduce protectionism and discrimination, in general, and toward the developing countries, in particular, to ensure consistent implementation of the principle providing for the preferential and unreciprocal treatment of the developing countries' exports, and to create a universal multilateral trade system.

The implementation of previous agreements and the search for new forms of international cooperation in order to tackle the great difficulties confronting the developing countries which export raw materials must be at the center of attention at this conference. Fulfillment of the objectives of the integral raw materials program adopted at the sixth UNCTAD conference, and, in particular, the long-overdue implementation of the agreement on joint funds, are essential prerequisites for creating stable foundations for developing and diversifying production and exports in those countries whose production primarily depends on raw materials.

I am convinced that we all agree that the most serious and most pressing problems are those of the least-developed developing countries, in particular those in the sub-Saharan region. We pay tribute to all those countries which have contributed to the efforts to overcome these problems. I therefore believe that the coordinated programs for tackling these priority tasks will gain the conference's full support.

The developing countries have always emphasized that the responsibility for their own development lies primarily with them. Experience has taught them that when outlining and drawing up their national economic policy they must, to a great extent, rely on their own natural, material, financial, and human potentials. [Words indistinct] such efforts for speeding up their development and to ensure an equal part in the international division of labor, what is needed is cooperation, the transfer of resources and modern technology from the developed [words indistinct] imposing conditions and their own concepts thus providing scope for interference in the internal affairs of individual countries and for creating new conflicting situations.

It is necessary to ensure that new technological achievements and development are made available to all countries in the interest of their unobstructed development which brings prosperity to all. For, in its internal characteristics and the laws of its expansion and use, technology knows no frontiers, neither those between the developed and developing countries nor those which divide the world into blocs. Technology must not be used to step up their competition or to widen even more the already wide and dangerous gap in the level of the possibilities for development.

The thought comes to mind about the contradictions accompanying the process of integration in economic efforts. This is a natural process which should lead to a more rational use and pooling of resources, labor, and know-how for the benefit of more rapid general progress. However, this process--which should know no boundaries and which, in its internal logic, is universal as an evidence of close links and interdependence in the world, should not be allowed to take place within insulated groups, and especially not under the influence of military-political considerations which would be advantageous for the development of some while ignoring the interest of others.

Ladies and gentlemen, esteemed delegates,

Understanding, trust, mutual benefit, and cooperation which is based on equality for all and their interdependence, is the only path to follow. The international community must therefore invest all its efforts urgently to renew development consensus, to launch a coordinated action by all countries and to ensure a more responsible and more visionary conduct of those whose influence on the world economic trends is strongest.

The political atmosphere in the world today inspires rather more hope than before in the possibility of renewing this consensus. In other words, political trends in the world [words indistinct] an enormous concentration of military power within a relatively narrow circle of countries which has led to

a state of imbalance on the planet. This high-level of concentration of enormous military power has made us realize that it could lead to an explosion on the planet. The appeals for disarmament, made over a number of years, have resulted in a realistic hope despite the remaining disagreements which are not to be underestimated. The champions of the arms race have no doubt come to realize that they cannot nor should they deviate from the goal, agreed on in principle, that only negotiations suit the needs of both sides.

There is already a new climate in political orientation which can open up prospects for the development of essential detente. Detente may develop into a chain reaction to affect the efforts to resolve world economic problems.

UNCTAD provides a concrete framework and opportunity, a forum and instrument for this. It is true that the negotiations carried out within UNCTAD in recent years have rarely made any real progress possible. The decisions reached at the sixth conference have largely remained unfulfilled. The blame, of course, is not with the forum itself but with the inconsistency in policies pursued by its member countries. The organization will become more useful in the present trends in world economy and under the existing international relations if all member countries take an involved and constructive part in the concerted efforts to promote UNCTAD's negotiating function and action orientation.

Your presence here today enhances confidence in your readiness to approach the process of negotiations with responsibility and awareness of its far-reaching implications.

I wish to emphasize again that Yugoslavia remains deeply committed to UNCTAD's irreplaceable mission. We shall continue to support all efforts to enable this universal, democratic, international, economic organization, permeated with the spirit of openness and solidarity, to emerge from the seventh conference strengthened and able to join the universal process aimed at resolving increasing world problems which we all expect and hope for. We believe that our hope is shared by the majority of the member countries.

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## SOVIET BALTIC MILITARY GROUP PAYS VISIT

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 17-18 Jun 87 pp 1, 5

[Article by [W. Ch.]: "Delegation of the Baltic Military District in Warsaw"]

[Text] (Own information) A delegation from the Soviet Army's Baltic Military District visited Warsaw on 16 June. In the capitol city, the Soviet comrades in arms were received by General of Arms Antoni Jasinski, deputy minister for general affairs and vice-minister of national defense.

Also present at this meeting were the chairman of the Soviet delegation and commander of the Soviet Army Baltic Military District, Colonel General Viktor Grishin, and Lt General Viktor Samoylenko, member of the Military Council, chief of the Political Directorate and deputy commander of the Baltic Military District. The meeting was also attended by the chairman of the Polish Army PZPR Control and Review Commission, Brigadier General Henryk Kondas. During this meeting, views were exchanged on the subject of training and party political work in both fraternal armies.

The Soviet guests were also received by the mayor of Warsaw, Jerzy Boleslawski. The delegation paid homage to those fallen in the liberation of Warsaw by laying a wreath at the Cemetery-Mausoleum for Soldiers of the Soviet Army and also at the Grave of the Unknown Soldier. The delegation's members visited historical places in Warsaw such as the Royal Palace and the Old Town and saw the film "But Warsaw".

The guests were accompanied by the commander of the Pomeranian Military District, Division General Zbigniew Blechman, and the Pomeranian Military District's deputy commander for political affairs, Col Edward Kijek.

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## BARYLA CHAIRS FIRST MEETING OF YOUTH DEFENSE EDUCATION GROUP

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 20-21 Jun 87 pp 1, 5

[Article by Major Wojciech Chodzinski: "Patriotic-Defense Training for Youth -- Consistent Realization of Tasks"]

[Text] (Own information) In the Ministry of Education in Warsaw on 3 June, there was the inaugural meeting of a group concerned with the issues of defense and patriotic training of school and university youth. The meeting was chaired by Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary General of Arms Jozef Baryla and its purpose was to determine tasks in the patriotic and defense training of the young generation.

The meeting was also attended by Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski, Education Minister Joanna Michalowska-Gumowska and Science and Higher Education Minister Benon Miskiewicz. Rear-Admiral Ludwik Dutkowski, first deputy chief of the Polish Army Political Directorate, and Jerzy Szmajdzinski, chairman of the Main Directorate of the Union of Polish Socialist Youth, were also present.

During the meeting, the realization of joint activities between the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Science and Higher Education and the army were discussed. There will be more of these shared enterprises in the defense and patriotic training of school and university youth. "Open barracks days" and other summer events will be aimed at promoting this training. There will also be meetings in which leading trainers and enlisted soldiers visit secondary schools and higher schools.

It was stressed that one condition for effectively cultivating desired patriotic attitudes among school youth and university students is the right program of patriotic and defense activities in schools and within military study programs. What is needed is a high level of quality and good methods. This has a great influence on the results of defensive and patriotic training.

Jozef Baryla discussed the basic tasks in the defense and patriotic training of youth. He said that these have all been set by the resolutions of the 10th

PZPR Congress and Central Committee plenums and that the present meeting of the group was a continuation of this work. "There exists a need," he said, "to concentrate our efforts on the realization of the program for patriotic and defense training of youth".

These programs are carried out in elementary, secondary and higher schools and also during extracurricular activities and free time. The schools and the teachers determine the form of patriotic-defense training and that is why they too must be supported. The program of patriotic-defense education should reflect the actual needs and state of consciousness of youth and political, military and disarmament problems should hold their rightful place within this program.

Vice-Minister of Education Colonel Marian Anysz then spoke. He discussed the ministry's realization of its tasks in this area. Among other things, he said that there have been considerable changes in this field. A cohesive program and system for the realization of tasks has been developed. This program is well served by effective cooperation with the army and especially by the patronage of army units as well as cooperation with the National Defense League, Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy, the Polish Air Club and other organizations.

Rear-Admiral Dutkowski then presented several enterprises being carried out by the military or in cooperation with it. These include ceremonial farewell programs for draftees and homecoming ceremonies for returning reservists. These events have been staged very often, have had rich preparation and extensive participation of public organizations and especially PRON. In reference to the summer campaign, he said that they should also include elements of patriotic-defense training in the form of activities such as caretaking of national monuments. During the summer period, several thousand military lecturers will meet with youth to discuss the Jaruzelski Plan and Polish defense doctrine. In cooperation with the army, there will be organized youth camps for defense training. Members of the Reserve Officer's Club and the National Defense League should become more involved in this work.

Minister Benon Miskiewicz spoke about patriotic-defense education in higher schools and said that the entire educational process in higher schools fosters the realization of these tasks. The program is also supported by patriotic-defense training groups and the high level of work in the military studies of higher schools. "Patriotic-defense training has a high position in the higher schools," said the minister, "and the growing cooperation with army units and military schools has contributed much to its improvement".

Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski and Deputy Director of the Central Committee Political Organization Department Stanislaw Seklecki also took the podium. The speakers accentuated the problems of personnel training, the need to coordinate actions during the summer campaign and to improve the program of defense and military training.

Summing up the meeting, General of Arms Baryla pointed out the unquestionable importance of patriotic-defense training which will be embodied by the realization of programs of the involved ministries. At the present time, the greatest efforts should be dedicated to the realization of the summer campaigns enterprises such as "Vanguard XXI" and the preparation of defense training camps.

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**DEFENSE COMMITTEES TAKE CHARGE OF YOUTH 'PATRIOTIC DEFENSE' EDUCATION****Defense League Executive Board Plenum**

Warsaw CZATA in Polish 14 Jun 87 pp 1, 2

[Unattributed article: "7th Plenum of the Executive Board of the National Defense League"]

[Excerpts] The 7th Plenum of the Executive Board of the National Defense League (LOK) was held in Warsaw and was dedicated to a greater increase in the efficiency of patriotic-defense training of youth and the quality of specialist training in the Polish Armed Forces.

The plenum was attended by the first deputy chief of the Chief Political Directorate of the Polish Army, Rear Admiral L. Dutkowski, the chairman of the Chief Directorate of the National Defense League, Division General Zygmunt Huszcza, brigadier generals Mieczyslaw Urbanski, Jan Swiatowiec and Jan Cieslik and Rear Admiral Zygmunt Rudomino.

In a report, the director of the Executive Board of the National Defense League, Division General Z. Huszcza, spoke about the improvement of forms and methods of work and means of making patriotic-defense training more attractive to youth. Such efforts are encouraged by the selfless attitude of the LOK's full-time employees and public officials.

The tasks set the LOK by the Resolutions of the 10th PZPR Congress, the decrees of the Presidium of State, the instructions of the Defense Ministry and the resolutions adopted by the recently concluded 2nd PRON Congress place special emphasis on the success of patriotic-defense training and the effectiveness and quality of specialist training for the armed forces.

**Address by Defense League Chief**

**Warsaw CZATA in Polish 14 Jun 87 p 4**

[Summary of Presidium Report to the Seventh Plenum of the National Defense League Executive Board presented by Gen. Div. Zygmunt Huszcza, president, National Defense League Executive Board: "Further Improvement of the Efficiency of Patriotic-Defense Training of Youth and the Quality of Specialist Training for the Armed Forces"]

[Excerpts] With great concern for the success of patriotic-defense training and the efficiency and quality of specialist training for the armed forces and in accordance with the program for the realization of the resolutions of the 8th National Congress of the LOK, the Presidium of the LOK's Executive Board presented these problems at the plenum. The Executive Board's members used the report materials and the tasks set by their yearly office director's training [dispatches to present recommendations and proposals on increasing under the present conditions the effectiveness of patriotic-defense training and improving the quality of the training of armed forces specialists such as drivers, skin-divers and radio and telegraph operators.

The plenum also determined that along with the realization of tasks in training armed forces specialists, the party organizations are (in accordance with the "16 February instructions on improvement of public patriotic-defense training with special consideration of youth in 1987-1990" approved by First Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and Chairman of the National Defense Committee General of the Army Wojciech Jaruzelski) striving to strengthen the united front of activities within the "Patriotic-Defense Training Teams" of the provincial defense committees. The aim is to cultivate patriotic attitudes, respect for national symbols and for work, disseminate knowledge about national defense, cultivate the right attitude toward military service, make higher and secondary military professional education and the idea of the professional soldier more popular among youth, improve civil defense propaganda and improve the physical fitness of youth through the development of mass technical-defense sports.

An uncommonly important sphere of our activity directly connected with the preparation of conscripts for military service and the cultivation of their political awareness is ever-more efficient use and realization by the LOK of the provisions of decrees issued by the chairman of the Council of Ministers and the Defense Minister on the matter of ideological indoctrination of preconscripts and conscripts as well as reserve soldiers.

The LOK's ever-increasing tasks patriotic-defense training and armed forces specialist training are made more important by the growing needs of the army and above all by the armed forces' increasing demand for highly-trained, committed and aware specialists devoted to the cause of national defense.

The importance that specialist training and education has for the armed forces is demonstrated by the fact that this problem was discussed at a meeting of the MON's Military Council in 1985 and by the collegium of institutions controlled by the Chief Inspectorate of Territorial Defense in 1986. These organs praised LOK's realization of patriotic-defense and training tasks but also ordered our organization to undertake more organizational and training actions and especially more education to guarantee the high-quality of trained specialists.

The central institutions of MON have provided substantial help in meeting our training plans. The commanders of the military districts and branches of service as well as the provincial military staffs which have been in continuous cooperation with LOK give advice on solving the most difficult problems in the process of training specialists needed by the army. We greatly value this cooperation and will perfect and intensify it because it helps us achieve exemplary preparation of skilled specialists -- future soldiers, drivers, divers and radio and telegraph operators.

I am aware of the responsibility that our organization has for the education and the quality of training of specialists. The present high degree of readiness and combat skill that our army has for the modern battlefield is closely connected with the quality of training. At the present time, tasks performed by various formations require well trained truck drivers. An army driver is a soldier who is responsible for extremely valuable equipment and even more so for human lives. That is why every driver and especially army drivers must have an excellent knowledge of road laws as well as safe and legal vehicle operation. A high degree of knowledge and consciousness of passengers and equipment and the exact and timely performance of tasks are the chief traits by which every driver in a modern army should be characterized.

Divers with proper training and skills are becoming increasingly important in the activities of our armies. On the modern battlefield, these specialists have an important role in getting people and equipment across water barriers. Their high theoretical knowledge and practical diving skills are used in locating the bottom of water barriers, finding passages and in other special tasks.

Considering the fact that these specialists often operate alone or in small groups, they must possess especially high skills.

The extent of tasks that the LOK performs for the armed forces is defined by the unified text of the 21 July 1967 law on the universal duty to protect the Polish People's Republic and orders by the Defense Minister, Polish Army Chief of General Staff and the director of the MON's Tank and Automotive Service.

Balancing the last two years' achievements in the area of educating and preparing young people for military service and especially in training specialists for the armed forces, the plenum's adopted resolution has ordered all instances and echelons as well as members of LOK to:

1. Work for consistent realization of the tasks set forth in the schedule for the League's realization of resolutions of the 10th PZPR Congress, the programs celebrating the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution (the documents for which have been sent to the LOK provincial boards) and also the program passed by the 2nd PRON Congress.

2. In the training process, making proper use of atmosphere, climate and conditions as well as the possibilities that came into being after the issue of:

-- instructions by the chairman of the Council of Ministers and the defense minister on political indoctrination of preconscripts and reserve troops;

-- the Defense Minister's Order Number 7 of 8 March 1986 on cooperation between military organs and the National Defense League;

-- the 16 February 1987 instructions on improving activities in patriotic-defense training with special consideration of youth in 1987-1990 as approved by the First Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and Chairman of the National Defense Committee (the program of activities in this area have been sent to all LOK provincial boards);

-- the 30 March 1987 Presidium of Government Decree Number 16/87 on creating conditions for further improvement of the activities of organizations such as the National Defense League, Aeroclub of the Polish People's Republic and the Defense Knowledge Society (the document was received by the LOK provincial boards on 12 May 1987).

The principle goal of the provisions of these documents is to increase the interest of political and government officials, institutions, PRON, youth and public organizations and of the trade unions in patriotic-defense activities, training the public for national defense and training youth to fulfill fundamental military service.

3. Continuously enrich the substance, forms and methods of patriotic-defense training and the training of drivers, divers and radio-telegraph operators, more broadly involve full-time employees, specialists and officials of LOK reserve officer's clubs in training tasks and work constantly to increase the feeling of responsibility among the leader personnel for the effectiveness of education and the quality of training of specialists for the armed forces.

4. During training, to make proper and full use of the available material and equipment and of full-time personnel with the desired skills. To consistently enforce discipline and use the time allotted for the realization of the training and educational program.

Having presented the principal problems in improving ideological indoctrination and training, the chairman of the LOK Executive Board thanked



all public officials and full-time employees of our organization, its provincial instances and members of the Executive Board and Chief Review Commission for their successful realization of the League's tasks in 1986 and the current year.

He also thanked instances and organizations of the PZPR, ZSL and SD, state officials, youth, social and veterans organizations, unit commanders and military staffs and all institutions actively supporting the patriotic-defense activities, training, and defense sports activities of our organization.

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## BALTIC MILITARY DISTRICT GROUP WRAPS UP VISIT

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 20-21 Jun 87 pp 1, 2

[Article by Staff Warrant Officer Zbigniew Pazdowski: "Departure of Delegation from Baltic Military District"]

[Text] (Own information) Friday, 19 June, was the last day of the visit to Poland of the delegation from the Baltic Military District. Soviet generals and officers under command of the Soviet Army Baltic Military District, Colonel General Viktor Grishin, and Lt General Viktor Samoylenko, member of the Military Council and chief of the Political Directorate and deputy commander of the Baltic Military District, visited the grave of Copernicus. At the airfield of the Torun Aeroclub, the guests were greeted by the commandant of the Rocketry and Artillery Higher Officer's School, Brigadier General Kazimierz Chudy, and the school's deputy commandant for political affairs, Colonel Jan Kowalski.

On their arrival at the school, the delegation was greeted with flowers by youth from elementary schools number 6 and 20 and by activists from the Military Dependent's Organization led by its chairperson, Aniela Luczynska. During the meeting, the Soviet guests were told about the history of the higher officer's school and its current didactic and educational tasks.

There was a tour of the school's training base in which the school's department heads and lecturers showed the delegation the lecture halls and laboratories for rocketry and artillery equipment. They also saw the command center, instructional television facilities, the library, the tactics department and the small low-caliber artillery firing range. In the Artillery Museum and Tradition Hall, the guests signed the memorial book. Gifts were exchanged and the Soviet comrades in arms were honored with souvenir medals of the Rocketry and Artillery Higher Officer's School.

The guests then visited Torun's Old Town. At the headquarters of the Torun Provincial PZPR Committee, First Secretary Zenon Draminski informed them about the energetic growth of the Torun region with special emphasis on achievements in the areas of economy, industry, agriculture and housing construction.

On their return to Bydgoszcz, the guests went to the command headquarters of the Pomeranian Military District for sincere talks to sum up their 5-day visit in Poland which was mostly spent in the Pomeranian Military District.

A farewell ceremony was held at the airfield of the Bydgoszcz Aeroclub. The guests said farewell to the district command assembled under its commander, Division General Zbigniew Blechman, and the Pomeranian Military District's deputy commander for political affairs, Col Edward Kiłek. The visit contributed to closer fraternal ties of friendship and cooperation joining our peoples and armies.

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**MILITARY ATTACHES TOUR ENGINEERING SCHOOL**

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 20-21 Jun 87 pp 1, 2

[Article by Capt S. Radziszewski: "Visit by Military Diplomats to Wroclaw"]

[Text] (Own report) The General Jakub Jasinski Engineering Troops Higher Officer's School in Wroclaw. This school trains officer personnel in several specializations needed by engineering troops, military transportation, construction and political officers. Cadets of all academic profiles gain extensive specialized knowledge in modern laboratories and in barracks training centers. Day after day, they study the preparation of bridging elements, woodworking, assembly of bridging elements, the construction of dams and the performance of tasks within different subunits.

On 19 June was just such a working day, the school was visited by the army, naval and air force military attaches from the embassies of Austria, the Chinese People's Republic, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, France, Japan, Yugoslavia, Canada, the Korean Democratic People's Republic, Mexico, the German Democratic Republic, Switzerland, the USA, the Hungarian People's Republic and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The military diplomats who arrived at the Wroclaw school in the company of the deputy commander of the Silesian Military District, Brigadier General Antoni Skibinski, were warmly greeted by representatives of the school's command and its commandant, Colonel Leonard Boguszewski. The commandant informed the guests about the school's history and its didactic and educational achievements. "The Engineering Troops Higher Officer's School," he said, "is one of the oldest schools of the Polish Army. Since August 1944, the school's growth has been inseparably bound with the capital city of Lower Silesia. Today's Engineering Troops Higher Officer's School is an important scientific and educational establishment which trains a high class of specialists. More than 35 percent of its teaching staff has academic degrees and titles. School graduates receive the rank of second lieutenant and the title of engineer. During studies, both the teaching personnel and the cadets participating in scientific research work do much work that benefits the national economy". The commandant's information was also supplemented with slides. The military



attaches saw new training facilities, laboratories specializing in chemistry, internal combustion engines, fuels and lubricants, a data-processing center, a drill training center, firing range, outdoor and indoor swimming pools and the cadet housing area.

The next point of the visit was the training facilities at the didactics department. The military diplomats visited the lecture halls of the Department of Road and Bridge Construction and the Department of Dams. The Canadian military, naval and air attache, Colonel R. Fraser, was interested in how cadets use the experience and theoretical knowledge they gain from the Department of Bridge and Road Construction in their practical training and future command work. The United States' military, naval and air attache, Colonel E.J. Motyka, noticed some of the cadets wearing the red braid of the Socialist Service Team and asked why not all cadets did not have it.

In the lecture hall where airfield construction is taught, there were many other interesting exhibits.

The next point in the visit was the school's sports hall where they saw Major Roman Kalina training the school's judo team.

The cadet practical training center pulsates with life. Cadets were training at all of the school's specialized facilities. The guests took special interest in one stage of integrated training. Two participants in an attack exercise, Captain Miroslaw Ciury and Lt Andrzej Kulbida, were held up by strong enemy fire. The director of the exercise, Colonel Czeslaw Tasienski, made an immediate decision: "Bring the second echelon into the line and attack visible buildings".

Commands are shouted and a column advances along the edge of the forest. The column is led by a tank equipped with a mine plow. The tank clears a passage through the minefield and the following column from the second echelon redeploys into platoons once it passes the minefield. Once the second echelon reaches the first, the entire unit then starts an assault. According to tactical principles, the troops reach the next line where they assault the buildings and once they have gained control of the position, take up pursuit of the enemy.

Military diplomats like colonels S. Drabek, J. Nekham and Z. Radman highly praised this part of the exercises. They continued to watch exercises at the metalworking and woodworking shops and at the training center for railroad bridge building where they also noted high cadet skills.

At the end of their visit, the diplomats went to the school's Engineering Troops Museum and tradition hall. In the name of the military diplomats, the dean of the corps of military, naval and air attaches accredited in Poland, Colonel Kim Chung Hion of the Korean Democratic People's Republic signed the memorial book.

While the military diplomats were seeing various parts of the school, their wives visited the Dolmed Lower Silesian Medical Diagnostics Center and saw a performance of the Engineering Troops Higher Officer's School's artistic ensemble and a concert by the Silesian Military District's orchestra.

Later, the military attaches and their wives visited historic places in Wroclaw such as the Raclawicka Panorama, the Leopoldin Aula at Wroclaw University, Ostrow Tumski and the Historical Museum. They spent the afternoon at the Silesian Provincial Sports Club where they participated in a contest shooting air guns and combat rifles at a moving target.

In the evening of 19 June, the attaches returned to Warsaw.

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## VACATION PRIZE WINNING OFFICERS MEET WITH SIWICKI

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 20-21 Jun 87 pp 1, 2

[Article by Maj Wojciech Chodzinski: "In the Armed Forces -- Recognition by the Defense Minister for Leading Officers"]

[Excerpts] (Own information) Leading officers and their wives spending prize vacations at the Military Vacation Center in Helenowo met on 19 June with Central Committee Politburo Member and National Defense Minister General Florian Siwicki.

The meeting was also attended by the director of the Defense Ministry's Personnel Department, Brigadier General Stanislaw Zak, and the first deputy chief of the Chief Political Directorate of the Polish Army, Rear-Admiral Ludwik Dutkowski.

Prize vacations have been for several years a special form of distinction in the army. They make it possible for married couples to spend vacations together and enjoy cultural events, especially in Warsaw. They also foster the formation of new friendships and the exchange of experiences. Officers awarded there vacations have come from various military units but they are all distinguished by one thing and that is that they are leaders in their services.

The meeting passed in an atmosphere of sincerity. Conditions of military life and training were discussed along with problems in garrisons and military communities.

Defense Minister General of the Army Florian Siwicki warmly thanked the prize-winning officers for their service achievements, hard efforts, selflessness and great commitment to strengthening their units' combat readiness. He stated that these units are the basic elements of the armed forces and also determine their condition and strength.

The defense minister devoted much attention to the problems of military families and the great role played by wives who with their attitudes and

commitment contribute much to the achievements of the Polish People's Army. General of the Army Florian Siwicki stressed the role of the family in society as well as its importance in integrating military communities, especially in small garrisons, and the role played by the Organization of Military Families as an important part of the military public. He also spoke about the army personnel's social and living problems including their material welfare. He wished these leading officers new successes in their service and in their personal lives.

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## UPDATE ON MILITARY, ACADEMY OF SCIENCES COOPERATION

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 16 Jun 87 pp 1, 5

[Article by Major Wojciech Chodzinski: "Defense Ministry and Polish Academy of Sciences Cooperation -- For the National Defense and the Growth of Science"]

[Text] (Own information) On 15 June in Warsaw, there was the latest working meeting of representatives of the Polish Academy of Sciences [PAN] and the Defense Ministry [MON], the purpose of which was periodical evaluation of the results of cooperation, the setting of new goals and the development better forms and methods of work. This meeting was attended by Polish Chief of General Staff and Vice-Minister of Defense General of Arms Jozef Uzycki and the academic secretary of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Professor Zdzislaw Kaczmarek.

The meeting was also attended by the director general and department secretaries of PAN, the chairmen of PAN and MON problems commissions and representatives of the Polish Army General Staff. Also present was the deputy chief of the Chief Political Directorate of the Polish Army, Brigadier General Mieczyslaw Michalik.

There is a rich tradition of cooperation between military and civilian scientists. This cooperation has had measurable results and led to achievements important both to national defense and science. Many shared research problems have been solved. Cooperation is steadily growing and the problems connected with cooperative research are discussed at the traditional meetings between the officials of MON and PAN.

Opening the meeting, General of Arms Jozef Uzycki said that directions to be taken by military sciences were outlined by the 3rd Polish Science Congress but that the realization of these tasks requires intensified research connected with various aspects of defense and national security as well as close cooperation between military and civilian research centers. The resolution of the 3rd Congress defines tasks for the military, social, technical and medical sciences. These tasks were specified during meetings between MON and PAN officials last year and at the start of this year. These

meetings established a schedule for the realization of tasks and oriented research more toward high-priority areas of science.

The degree to which the "Schedule for the Realization of Tasks Set at Meetings of PAN and MON" were discussed by Brigadier General Mieczyslaw Wlodarski. "Tasks have been evaluated," he said, "both by MON and the concerned departments and institutes at PAN. The set tasks have been extensively analyzed and the means to implement them have been put into motion. Therefore, we have obtained important results and mutual benefits".

These results included an improved system of cooperation, an oriented research plan, consideration of other research plans, themes for youth research, the creation of joint research teams, greater PAN participation in the work of MON's scientific-research centers and army assistance in polar research. The realization of the resolutions of the 3rd Congress was evaluated. "Tasks in this field," said Brigadier General Zdzislaw Zarski, "have been successfully realized. PAN-MON cooperation will continue to grow to help strengthen our state's defenses, improve the combat readiness and skills of our armed forces and improve their logistics in peace and war".

Following this, the chairmen of the MON and PAN problems commissions presented the themes and extent of implementation in 1986 of the plan for MON and PAN cooperation in scientific research for 1986-1990. This cooperation is handled by commissions on the sciences of history, law, philosophy, earth sciences, land management, data-processing, pure and technical sciences, biology, agriculture and medicine. Brigadier generals Mieczyslaw Michalik, Zdzislaw Zarski and Jan Bobrowicz, Colonel Jozef Kubica and professors Bazyli Bialokozowicz, Roman Ney, Alfred Swit, Miroslaw Mossakowski, Henryk Cholaj, Romuald Klekowski and Wojciech Zielenkiewicz all took part in the discussions. The tasks of small PAN and MON research groups were also discussed.

During the meeting, PAN's secretary general, Professor Zdzislaw Kaczmarek, said that the extensive cooperation between MON and PAN has been beneficial to both sides and is producing ever-better results. "However, there does exist," he said, "the possibility of broadening cooperation both in scientific research and in specific subjects dictated by the needs of MON. This applies to all sciences but above all to the technical sciences, pure sciences and social sciences". The speaker also presented the preliminary assumptions for meetings of the defense minister and chairman of PAN.

During the meeting, scientific workers who have distinguished themselves in their work on behalf of the national defense received gold medals "For service to the national defense" and those recipients were Professor Roman Ney and Professor Wojciech Zielenkiewicz.

Summarizing the meeting, the chief of the Polish Army General Staff said that the recent past has brought many important results from MON-PAN cooperation and that the plan for joint enterprises in scientific research was successfully realized. General of Arms J. Uzycki thanked all institutions and

persons involved in MON-PAN scientific cooperation. He also spoke about the present directions for cooperation in areas like the continuation of work on the creation of research teams, coordination of activities and the improvement of planning.

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## COOPERATION WITH ACADEMY OF SCIENCES IN ENGINEERING, HARD SCIENCES

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 23 Jun 87 p 1

[Article by Lt Tadeusz Pieklo: "In the Area of Pure and Technical Sciences -- Improvement of Cooperation Between The Defense Ministry and the Academy of Sciences"]

[Text] (Own information) A meeting of military and civilian scientists at the Polish Academy of Sciences' [PAN] Institute of Physical Chemistry in Warsaw was dedicated to improvement of technical cooperation between PAN and the Polish People's Army. This was also the inaugural meeting of the Defense Ministry [MON] and PAN commission on cooperation in pure and technical sciences during the new 1987-1989 term of office of the academy's officials.

The Polish Army's Chief Inspector for Technology and vice-minister of defense, General of Arms Zbigniew Nowak, met with the secretaries of PAN departments, their deputies and invited professors. Also present were the director of Military Technological Research and Development, Brigadier General Jan Bobrowicz, and Brigadier General Mieczyslaw Wlodarski.

PAN department secretaries professors Wojciech Zielenkiewicz and Alfred Swit presented research trends until 1990 with special consideration of the programs and themes that are or can be the subjects of cooperation between MON and PAN research centers. They also presented the most important research achievements of their own departments' centers and committees in the area of designs, equipment, technology, apparatus and reports.

General Bobrowicz praised the course of cooperation so far between the Polish Army's technical departments and PAN. Thanks to this cooperation, many shared problems have been resolved and representatives of science have worked intensively with military research centers and participated in processes for improving the qualifications of the army's technical personnel. PAN has also made its specialized equipment available for armed forces technical research.

The participants then discussed technical and scientific problems in which the interests of PAN and MON research personnel coincide. They also considered



the possibility of creating joint research teams in areas such as micro- and opto-electronics, space studies, operation of machinery and equipment and the problems of cryogenics and biocybernetics.

The discussions produced joint conclusions aimed at tightening and improving cooperation and a provisional agreement on cooperation was signed.

The conference participants visited PAN's Institute of Physical Chemistry where they saw the laboratories and equipment and saw a film about the Institute's organization and achievements.

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## BRIEFS

**MILITARY AFFAIRS JOURNALISTS**--The last meeting for the current term of the Polish Journalist's Association's Military Affairs Journalist's Club on 10 June in Warsaw was devoted to evaluation of the club's activities and the election of new club officers. As it was stressed during the meeting, over the last four years, there has been a growth in the number of mass media representatives specializing in military problems and that forms of public media that portray the traditions and daily lives of the troops of the Polish People's Army have been enriched and made more attractive. The defense ministry's press spokesman and deputy chief of the Chief Political Directorate of the Polish Army, Brigadier general Leslaw Wojtasik, met with club members to discuss the present directions and tasks in ideological and propaganda work within the Polish People's Republic's Armed Forces. Stanislaw Reperowicz, editor of TRYBUNA LUDU, was re-elected as chairman of the SD [Democratic Party] Military Journalist's Club and his new deputies are Zbigniew Plessner of the Polish Radio and Television Center in Szczecin and Franciszek Seweryn, editor of WOJSKO LUDOWE. [Text] [Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 11 Jun 87 p 5] 12261

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## PRACTICE AND UNSOLVED PROBLEMS OF CEMA INTEGRATION VIEWED

## Efficiency Considerations Important

Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech No 20, 1987 pp 8-9

[Article by Eng Petr Chvojka, candidate for doctor of science, Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences Economics Institute, Prague: "The Pressing Question of Integrational Cooperation"]

[Text] Efficiency considerations must be the basic principle for developing direct relations among economic organizations within the CEMA. The economic rationale for a cost-accounting [khozraschet] enterprise to implement a direct relationship with another firm becomes questionable if the production problem to be addressed by that cooperation can be resolved more effectively within the cost-accounting enterprise. Given the intentions of the ongoing economic restructuring within Czechoslovakia and the restructuring of the operating mechanisms of socialist economic integration, we must pose the question of how well these new and changing systemic environments take account of the efficiency aspects of direct relationships.

The expansion of socialist economic integration (including the necessary precondition of socialist economic intensification) depends more and more on the effective involvement of the entire economy, at all levels, in the integration process. Integration cannot continue to take place based on decisions by central offices, which sometimes are made without knowledge of specific situations and specific opportunities that exist at the production level, and therefore do not take account of the internal economic interest of the affected enterprises in program implementation. Economic organizations need to assume a qualitatively different position in integration processes, one that begins at the level of decision making about the programs themselves. This is of vital importance to maximize the economic impact of these programs for all participating countries under current conditions, when the focus of cooperation is shifting from its traditional intersectoral division of labor to more sophisticated

internal sectoral and internal division cooperative efforts. Active participation by economic organizations is absolutely essential here, and must be motivated not only by their interest in meeting the tasks imposed by the center, but also by their interest in choosing a program that will be optimal for their particular production capacity and appropriate for the national interest.

In this context, emphasizing direct relationships in the sense of links between specific economic entities from specific CEMA countries is (or can be) a promising step. It could represent a watershed in the entire system of cooperation, characterized by a desirable establishment and expansion of integrational links throughout the entire structure of the capital replacement process of the socialist economy.

#### Current Changes Too Passive

If we compare this target concept (which so far exists only in a generalized form) of direct relations with the specific measures and programs that have been adopted so far in the CSSR to facilitate this process, we find that there has so far been no basic change in the operating environment. A critical analysis of these measures is therefore necessary as a precondition for restructuring the economic system of the CSSR.

The guidelines for direct relations, as approved in CSSR Government Resolution No 106 dated 17 April 1986 (see supplement to HOSPODARSKE NOVINY, No 38/1986) in general allowed more latitude to cost accounting enterprises in their foreign economic activity, and specifically in the implementation of effective forms of production, R&D, and investment cooperation. In this sense establishing direct relations can

1. help to implement state and economic plan tasks related to Czechoslovak obligations under international contracts (mainly the Comprehensive R&D Program for CEMA Member Countries Through the Year 2000, multilateral and bilateral agreements on R&D and economic cooperation, etc.), and
2. reinforce internal initiatives of economic organizations aimed at improving their operating efficiency.

Establishing direct relationships in these two areas represents two different types of "efficiency". The first represents nothing new and does not extend beyond the logic of the current system. It involves tasks imposed from above, with economic entities being only the executors of the programs. The effectiveness of this type of direct relationship (and therefore incentives for the participating firms) depends on factors that are frequently not under their control. Success depends rather on the quality of decisionmaking at the center and the way that the CSSR participates in international cooperation. At present the situation is such that existing resolutions and economic measures aimed at facilitating the establishment of direct relations in the CSSR do remove from the paths of cost-accounting organizations most of the current (mainly administrative) obstacles to the efficient fulfillment of their tasks, under specific measures adopted by the central offices.



In terms, however, of fully integrating criteria for national economic and enterprise efficiency one must view the development of direct relations in the context of the second above mentioned case, namely when such relationships are undertaken for internal reasons to boost organizational efficiency. Economic organizations would choose this route as optimal for meeting their obligations under the plan (compared with manufacturing the item in question itself, simply importing it, procuring a license, etc.) after analyzing specific production, cooperation and specialization options and projecting the consequences of each decision. This amounts to choosing the optimal way to obtain the finished product. The goal of producing a given product at the least possible cost for a given organization (assuming accurate price and exchange rate data, and excluding distortions from redistribution activities, etc.) is at the same time in the interest of the national economy. In this regard it may be stated that the cost-accounting sphere will "act integratively" only if the advantage of establishing direct relations with other organizations in the CEMA will be greater than not setting up such ties, or if it will not be possible to achieve the same goal another way, such as by taking advantage of opportunities provided by loopholes in specific measures applicable to the domestic economy. By the same token, the socialist state and its central planning apparatus should lend its support only to those direct relationships that will produce a demonstrable impact.

Most of the measures contained in current Czechoslovak regulations governing direct relationships are quite passive in nature, i.e. simply create a general organizational and operating context to facilitate the establishment of direct relations. We will not discuss them in detail. Only some of them can be characterized as proactive, in the sense of generating sufficiently high interest on the part of economic organizations in the development of direct relationships.

#### The Price Paradox and Its Consequences

The way direct relationships are currently structured, the possibility of aggregating economic results from these relationships into adjusted value added figures is an important one (as long as certain conditions, specified in Article IV.1 of Guidelines, are complied with). It affects the establishment of wages payable resources, which has consequences for specific employee collectives. This in turn generates a natural internal interest in the organization to get as much as possible from its involvement in direct relationships.

The results of exchange are, however, related to this. They involve mainly value considerations and the result of sales of actual products (which are specialized products covered by appropriate agreements), as well as valuation factors and the results of importing the necessary products by the cooperating, partner organization. The main determinant of these results is, of course, the prices of these exports and imports. A vitally important new consideration is that, in direct relationships, the prices at which these transactions are made do not have to be

contract prices, but can be, in the case of shipments related to production cooperation, individualized prices agreed upon by the cooperating organizations on the basis of mutual advantage (see Article IV.3 of Guidelines). While the prices of specific components, parts, and subassemblies must be consistent with the price level and relative pricing of the end product (which is its contract price, assuming that the item in question is standard in foreign trade), this pricing flexibility creates the opportunity for a new kind of price formation in CEMA relationships based more or less on actual (national) cost calculations of the producers involved, or in some instances on national wholesale prices. This is an important principle that should facilitate the establishment of direct relationships. Every producer knows his actual costs of production and domestic wholesale prices and on this basis can calculate a contract price that is still acceptable to him. This enables him to define a comfort zone for the conditions of cooperation and the exchange of specific components.

It is logical that both exports to and imports from a partner organization should carry lower price and cost figures than if the economic organization had made everything itself. Current practice in the exchange of specialized products as a rule involves, paradoxically, an increase in prices related to imports of products out of the normal product line. If this trend persists under the current structure of direct relationships the delicate question would have to be raised of the overall contribution of specific cooperative programs to the Czechoslovak economy. From the viewpoint of a manufacturer this can be resolved by exerting pressure for value comparability of mutual deliveries made under cooperative agreements (and there are many signs that this is the way things are headed). The objective here would not necessarily be to obtain the most advantageous relative prices in the exchange with the foreign partner, but rather achieving actual production results in the above sense. While this would not result in maximizing the impact of cooperation, it would still make a contribution to overall economic performance.

While this approach is at least worth considering (for the present anyway) practical experiences in the exchange of goods between CEMA countries show that demanding strict equilibration of mutual payments positions among partners puts pressure on the evolution of the prices of the products being exchanged, often forcing these prices out of line with relative values. In this regard, adhering to balanced payment positions between cooperating organizations can affect the relative prices of the goods being exchanged in a direction counter to optimal national economic levels, with a consequent negative impact on final economic performance. Similarly, this could result in an increase in the "level" of certain prices in a cooperative agreement, as the reaction of a domestic producer to unrealistic pricing demands of a partner.

Demanding mutual value comparability for each individual transaction in a direct relationship, in other words, can be in conflict with national economic interests. Specific firms should, therefore have available to them financing for their own production not covered by a cooperative contract, at the same time that they may show a positive export balance.

## Convertibility an Absolute Necessity

The above is a matter for foreign currency and financial mechanisms, which are in fact another determinant of efficiency in direct relationships. How specific currencies are converted can have a substantial impact on final performance figures related to cooperative production. The mutual invoicing provided for in Article IV.5 of Guidelines can be done in the currencies of the cooperating countries, provided certain agencies approve. In addition, though, cooperating organizations can undertake obligations in either convertible rubles or hard currencies. The Guidelines establish conversion conventions, which do not differ substantially from those normally used. It is clear already that some specific formula for converting national currencies to convertible rubles, or for making them freely convertible among themselves is absolutely essential to the further development of direct relationships. Establishing this convertibility (at least so-called "internal convertibility") should facilitate the entry of specific firms, provided they meet certain state specified guidelines, into the CMEA market. They would then have the right to conduct necessary exporting and importing activities based on the resources available to them in their national currencies. The actual conversion of the pertinent currencies, and its impact on the firm concerned, is affected by so-called financial-economic mechanisms of foreign trade, which apply to direct relationships (see Principles of Finance, Credit, and Invoicing, Article 1. 1c, 1d). The extent to which these mechanisms alter the final financial magnitude of the difference between contract (or agreed upon contract) prices and wholesale prices will also affect the final performance figures of the organization concerned and therefore also its incentive to continue with direct relationships.

Financial-economic mechanisms in the foreign trade area are meant to be generalized instruments for reconciling individual enterprise interest with national economic priorities. By nature they represent modification of a unified conversion ratio. Adjusting the impact of conversion on firms in this way should optimize and enhance the efficiency of all foreign trade transactions. This has not been the case to date, however, despite the best efforts of all concerned.

The disadvantage of financial-economic mechanisms (and the current conversion formula generally, with its multi-level conversion ratios), is the "nontransparency" and noncompatibility of relative values between the CMEA market and domestic markets. This situation arises, among other things, by the rapid and constantly changing positions of economic organizations under current conditions, and decisionmaking concerning optimal resource allocation based on comparisons of possible scenarios and their probable outcomes. A simplification of the operating mechanism for ties between specific values and relative values both within and outside the national economy including a corresponding improvement in the accuracy of the pertinent conversion ratios would in the future make price formation in both areas both more accurate and more closely related to each other. Such an integration of the two price systems is an essential precondition for the effective integration of both entire countries and specific firms into socialist economic integration.



## Obstacles in Management Noted

Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech No 20, 1987 p 9

[Article by Eng Alena Kordova, Research Institute for Foreign Economic Relations, Prague: "Now the Break-In Period, Tomorrow the Restructuring"]

[Text] I want to point out certain obstacles in the current economic management system that impede the development of direct contractual relations between our firms and partners from the CEMA. In this sense the restructuring of the economic system of the CSSR represents a fundamentally new contribution to modifying direct relationships. This restructuring will clearly require a number of new and innovative solutions and procedures for developing cost-accounting [khozraschet] principles in foreign economic relationships generally, and in direct relationships in particular.

Even though the implementation of Guidelines for Implementing Direct Contractual Relations [hereafter Guidelines] in the CSSR has removed some of the above obstacles, the regulations involved do not move outside of the normal standards of the Czechoslovak management system. This finding has already been published in the article "Are Partial Adjustments Adequate" (HOSPODARSKE NOVINY No 2/1987). It is also clear that the implementation of direct relationships demands certain adjustments of a preventive nature (necessitated by weaknesses in the national management system and in international integrational mechanisms), as well as temporary changes related to the "breaking in" of direct relations.

### Open Questions in Planning

Restructuring the planning aspects of the economic system, in my opinion, is mainly a matter of taking a more comprehensive view of management, of the planning processes involved in R&D and production cooperation and foreign trade, at the level of the most basic cost-accounting entities. Meanwhile, in establishing a link between direct relationships and the system of plans, the main problem is not so much the absence of an independent indicator, but rather a lack of proportion in the inter-relationship between koruna and foreign currency planning. This involves on the one hand deepening the ties between the value impact of direct relations on plan indicators of enterprise management, on the wage regulation system, and on the economic incentive system, and on the other hand expanding the application sphere for cost-accounting in the foreign currency area.

There is substantial underutilized capacity in supplier-consumer relations. Determining the links that should exist between international agreements and the signing of contracts between Czechoslovak economic entities is a serious problem. As the restructuring principles make clear there will have to be substantial changes in the way supplier-consumer relations are established. This process is not even prepared yet for the forms of implementing cooperative production assumed in Guidelines.



An important aspect of the development of direct relations is the improvement of forecasting, strategizing and analytical-research activities of enterprises, along with the formation of high quality data bases on the potential and the needs of existing or potential partners in cooperative ventures.

The formulation process of state and economic plans still must learn to take sufficient account of the considerations of long term, stable direct relationships. Some steps have already been taken, but rather in conjunction with setting up international cooperative relations (combining the results of direct relations with overall trade and payments balances with individual countries, etc.). So far this viewpoint has not been seriously applied.

### Price Formation the Biggest Obstacle

In terms of economic instruments the most complex obstacles and reservations about developing direct relations within the current Czechoslovak managerial system occur in the realm of pricing includes actual price formation for cooperative products and their integration into VUL and enterprise management) as well as the domestic price formation system. In particular price formation for cooperatively manufactured products acts as a retarding factor on the development of direct relations. This impact is intensified by certain growth patterns in pricing within individual CEMA countries. Under current Czechoslovak practice, the formation of foreign trade and contract prices for cooperative products is usually a function of a foreign trade organization. What has been lacking is long term correspondence between the strategies of producers and foreign trade organizations, which should stem from the coordinated interests of both spheres through the plan and economic mechanisms. This coordination is essential for obtaining the maximum impact from direct contractual relations, especially if the focus for resolving pricing questions shifts to the producer.

Moreover, domestic price formation is adapting to a new, comprehensive concept of value indicators. Price incentives have been ineffective, even though they are not an insignificant portion of profits and their increase. Price incentives have not yet had an impact in the context of direct relations.

On the whole it may be stated that the existing methodology for forming contract prices already defines sufficiently tight constraints (which specify for the prices of cooperative production "agreed upon deviations" of contract prices from current base prices, i.e. adjusted world prices). This will not be sufficient in an environment of restructuring. A final contract should be the result of purposeful (coordinated) established economic conditions within the cooperating countries, in conjunction with:

- expanding the rights of organizations to set their own prices;
- strengthening the foreign economic functions of organizations.

If one considers that price formation related to direct relations should be based on realistic economic calculations than it is extremely important to develop comprehensive pricing databases at the organization level.

## Relationship to Integrational Mechanisms

Experience to date, though it is limited, indicated that stable direct relationships arise and prosper with those organizations which are interested in their own long range development. The development of these relationships, once again, is closely linked to the development of cost-accounting principles in foreign economic relations. Experience has also shown that active organizational participation in direct relationships should be a uniform decisionmaking process, from the comprehensive assessment of conceptual questions through the adoption and implementation of specific decisions linked with material accountability. In addition, today we need to provide for closer cooperation between VHI divisions (enterprises), while choosing the proper type of cooperative direct relationships that will foster the developmental objectives of the organization. One suggestion has been to establish a single coordination center in a production organization which would evaluate the effectiveness and priority of various forms of economic cooperation comparing these alternatives to in-house capabilities. Another idea has been to set up consultation and coordination centers in supervisory agencies.

Resolving the problems of developing direct relationships also depends to a large extent on the merging of the national economic mechanisms of the CEMA countries (especially in the basic questions of the independence of economic organizations in foreign economic activities, but also in the area of technical development, capital investment, price formation, etc.). In this regard it is my opinion that the development of direct relations must be supported in the CEMA countries by the involvement of the entire economic system in decisionmaking processes at all levels of management. Otherwise it is impossible to change the role of direct producer, which in current contracts covering international specialization and cooperation is mainly realized through the passive fulfillment of objectives adopted at the center, or with the excessive involvement of the management sphere. This formation of systemic conditions for developing direct relations has already made it clear that under restructuring it is essential to integrate changes in national systems with the formulation of the elements of the international mechanisms of socialist integration.

Speeding up the development of direct relations also depends heavily on clarifying common problems far enough ahead of time so that ways can be found to deal with potential risks (in pricing, foreign currencies, finance, etc.). Given the current starting point for developing material processes (especially international specialization and cooperative production within the CEMA) and the level of preparedness of the management systems nationally and internationally, it will not be possible in my view to count on an "across the board" development of direct relations between CEMA organizations any time in the near future.

## Direct Relationships Preferred

Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech No 20, 1987 p 9

[Article by Eng Jozef Cignaik, vice-chairman of the Czechoslovak Commercial and Industrial Commission: "Complicated or Simple?"]

[Text] In the first half of March the Czechoslovak Commercial and Industrial Commission, in conjunction with the Czechoslovak-Soviet Trade Commission, organized a discussion on the current problems in implementing direct relationships. Present were 90 representatives of member organizations (mainly VHJ), central agencies, and the appropriate experts from both commissions.

The current consultation and advisory services provided by both commissions in relation to direct relationships are indicative of the many obstacles that enterprises and VHJ encounter when seeking to enter into a direct relationship. The main purpose of the above discussion was to identify experiences to date, but above all pointing out the major obstacles currently in the way of direct relations.

The discussion again confirmed the interest of member organizations in utilizing direct relations to resolve those problems which are difficult to deal with their own resources. These include efficiency problems related either to the better use of existing facilities or with improving the technico-economic parameters and quality of products, the acquisition of imports, etc. Experiences show that the organizations performing well are those which completed an objective analysis of their potential through 1990, or for a longer time frame, and which seek to use direct relations to overcome certain "barriers" that affect current as well as future development of specific VHJ, enterprises, or organizations. This type of direct relationship make it possible to fulfill demanding plan tasks, speed up planned development and achieve performance figures in excess of plan targets.

During the discussion it was also learned that Guidelines for Establishing Direct Relationships Between Socialist Organizations of the CSSR and Organizations of the CEMA Member Countries (supplement to CSSR Government Resolution No 106, dated 17 April 1986) still contains many complex areas regardless of the fact that some of them were resolved by the Agreement on Direct Production and R&D Relations Among Associations, Enterprises and Organizations, which was concluded between the governments of the CSSR and USSR at the 42nd CEMA Plenum on 4 Nov 1986 in Bucharest. There are four basic differences.

1. Guidelines establishes demanding criteria for negotiating prices in direct relationship agreements, as follows:

--prices of semi-finished goods, auxiliary materials, components, sub-assemblies, parts and technical services related to production, the prices of designs, research services, development, production preparation, etc, are formed by agreement between the participating Czechoslovak organization and its partner from the given CEMA member country on the basis of the



principle of mutual advantage, while respecting the level and relationships of contract, and sometimes domestic (wholesale) prices of final production;

--it further emphasises that the appropriate foreign trade organization must be consulted regarding the proposed prices. These organizations will assure that the proposed price will take account of movements in world prices.

The intergovernmental agreement between the CSSR and USSR adopts a simplified approach. In article 5 it states that "in these contracts the cooperating organizations will determine volumes, nomenclature, other conditions of shipment including the agreed upon price of the products in question and provided services with the condition that these prices cannot be the forerunners of prices for analagous products (services) delivered (provided) outside the context of the agreement on direct relationships".

It is logical that every organization that enters in to a direct relationship must negotiate the prices that will enable it to make its target profit on the final production. Both documents properly emphasize the importance of cost-accounting, which means both partners will be responsible for the efficiency of their direct relationship, as measured by their economic performance.

2. In Guidelines foreign currency availability for business trips to CEMA countries as covered by Guideline No 65, which was published in the Financial Report No 7 in 1972. With the objective of creating more flexible conditions for establishing direct relationships the Federal Ministry of Finance has set up the following provisions related to foreign currency for business trips within the CEMA.

-- the bearer of foreign currency limitations (sectors, central agencies and other organizations which request allocations of foreign currency from the finance ministry) for these business trips will in all justified instances delegate the appropriate portion of the foreign currency limit to VHI, research institutes and other organizations entering into direct relationships. The bearers of these sublimits are justified in cases of need to make further delegations to subordinate organizations or enterprises;

-- the Ministries of Finance of the CSSR, CSR and SSR, upon the request of the bearers for foreign currency limits, will make modifications to these limits for trips to socialist countries in such a way that direct cooperation between CEMA member countries will not disrupt planned trips. This must be done in accordance with CSSR Government Resolution No 288, dated 31 Oct 1985 (Tasks of the Efficiency Enhancement Program for the Eighth 5-Year Plan).

In the Agreement between the CSSR the problem of foreign business trips is resolved through a non-foreign currency link. The partners to the agreement on direct relations thereby have the chance to agree on an appropriate form of non-foreign currency link to cover the sending of experts to the given CEMA countries.



3. Experiences to date have shown that foreign trade organizations do not take much initiative, and do not facilitate direct relationships, because these go beyond the boundaries of their current activity. We should therefore give credit to the initiative of the Federal Ministry of Foreign Trade, which has recently set up the organizational and staffing requirements for direct relationships in the areas of cooperation and specialization in the Transakta foreign trade organization and for the area of R&D cooperation in the Polytechna foreign trade organization. Many enterprises and VNI are attempting to gain the right to import and export through implementing direct relationships.

It must therefore be emphasized again that in Guidelines this possibility is still strictly limited. Guidelines provides that:

--exports and imports of specialized (final) production resulting from pertinent agreements will in principle be marketed through the appropriate foreign trade organization, or other organizations that are permitted to engage in foreign trade activities;

--the direct implementation of foreign trade activities by Czechoslovak Organizations Entering Into Direct Relationships (based on Federal Ministry of Foreign Trade approval) is assumed for export and import deliveries of cooperative production (components, machinery, subassemblies, etc.) as well as in the area of providing field engineering services (including deliveries of spare parts necessary for performing this service), even in those cases where the foreign partner will have the authority to implement directly foreign trade activities related to the object of the direct relationship.

The above problem is solved more simply in the CSSR-USSR agreement:

--organizations involved in direct relationships may, in accordance with the laws of the country of their headquarters, sign contracts independently or through the official foreign trade organizations of the USSR and CSSR;

--In signing contracts the cooperating organizations will be governed by the standard documents and resolutions valid within the CFMA and which relate to deliveries of goods, assembly, and provided services.

4. In the discussion some participants asked the appropriate state agencies

--to issue regulations for establishing direct relationships with non-socialist countries, because the existing basic documents related to direct relations apply only to organizations from CMEA countries;

--formulate regulations for establishing joint ventures with CMEA countries, because the existing documents cover the setting up of joint ventures only with partners from nonsocialist countries. Regulations on the establishment and activities of joint ventures, international associations and organizations, and valid only for these contracting parties are included only in the joint CSSR-USSR agreement;

--activate existing regulations for direct relationships and the establishment of joint ventures based on existing experiences, as well as documents issued on these matters in the USSR, Poland and in Hungary. These documents must be reworked into a more unified and simplified form;

--issue practical guidelines for enterprises, VHJ, and cooperating supervisory agencies and unified explanatory material and methodology, in order to facilitate the more rapid implementation of direct relationships.

The resolutions of the Fifth CPCZ Central Committee Plenum consider it a key task to accelerate and thoroughly elaborate on the "Principles for Restructuring the Economic System" including a proposed law concerning state enterprise. We are certain that these prepared documents will resolve existing obstacles and make it possible to more fully implement the technique of direct relationships to help reorient our enterprises and VHJ on the path of intensive development. We are also certain that in these necessary activities we cannot afford to fall behind current requirements. Many above problems can be resolved by existing institutions even under current conditions.

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## ENGINEERING ENTERPRISES WILL HAVE UNEVEN START IN RESTRUCTURING

Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech No 20, 1987 p 3

[Article by doctor Jiri Spanel, Prague Research Institute for Engineering Technology and Economics: "Starting Out With a Handicap"]

[Text] Despite many difficulties, the engineering sector has fulfilled and continues to fulfill a number of important functions in national economic development. More is expected of it. We are at a point now, however, where certain areas of underutilized capacity have been fully exploited and the exploitation of certain remaining ones is dependent on making improvements in the economic system. Limited investment volume, and certain expenditures on equipment that is less than state of the art, is not enough of a commitment to modernize successfully the entire engineering sector. Increasing enterprise independence, including responsibility for financing development internally, has caught various enterprises at differing stages of capital asset obsolescence.

It should be noted that engineering and electrotechnology (understood as the heavy engineering, general engineering and electrotechnical industrial sectors) employ 37 percent of the work force and utilize 22 percent of the total industrial capital stock. This complex also accounts for 34 percent of total industrial adjusted value added figures. Between 1980 and 1985, according to the Federal Statistical Office, adjusted value added in the engineering sector increased by Kcs 30 billion, that of industry as a whole by Kcs 64 billion, and that of organizations affiliated with the ministries of industry of the CSR and SSR by Kcs 17 billion. Investments during the same period in the engineering sector amounted to Kcs 65 billion, in the remainder of industry Kcs 280 billion, and in the organizations of the ministries of industry of the CSR and SSR Kcs 61 billion. This means that the return on investment in the engineering sector was greater by a factor of at least two than the return on investment in other processing industries.

The same would be true of comparisons with construction, agriculture, and other economic sectors (even going back as far as 1970). This would imply that investments in the engineering and electrotechnical sectors have been underfunded over the long term. Between now and 1990 the overall obsolescence of many engineering sector plants and facilities will increase, in spite of planned improvements.

## Potential for Better Utilization

On the other hand, the existing production base, and particularly new facilities with the most modern equipment, are being underutilized in terms of time, output and function. The number of production machines has been increasing faster than the number of workers. Much criticism has been levelled, but the fact of the matter is that none of the measures that have been adopted since 1962 have been able to speed up the liquidation of obsolete machinery. Twenty percent of the 400,000 machines operating in the engineering sector are more than 30 years old. There are, in other words, 80,000 "very old" machines in the engineering sector, but only about 3,000 per year are being retired from service. Clearly, replacing all such machines at this pace would take a long time, meaning that some of them would still be in use after the year 2000. On the other hand, our current objective is to speed up the basic technical innovation cycle to a period of less than 10 years; the capital stock should be replaced at a comparable pace.

Many of the old and obsolete machines serve today as backup equipment for times when more modern machines are down, for peak times when it is necessary to catch up to plan targets, and to cover for uncertainties in future production programs. There is a shortage of modern equipment, and moreover the purchase of a substantially similar machine (only 30 years younger and three times the price) simply does not make economic sense. There is little economic incentive to reduce the stock of capital assets, certainly not enough incentive to offset the risks inherent in doing so. Moreover, it is often difficult to find an effective use for the floor space that is sometimes freed up by removing an old machine from service (if this is done without replacing it).

Opinions differ as to the degree to which the total capital stock is not utilized. Studies conducted by the Federal Statistical Office [FSO] suggest that capital utilization in the engineering sectors is 75 percent, assuming two shift operation. After corrections for general overhauls, overtime work and the like, it is estimated that 82-85 percent of the capital stock is used on a two-shift basis. Clearly, then, there is underutilized capacity.

There is a problem, however, with the methodology of this study (FSO report Pml-01) because it considers equipment valued at Kcs 30,000 and equipment valued at Kcs 3 million to have equal weight. Another serious fault is that some machines are clearly not included in the report at all, because there are no controls on the reporting system. The enterprise itself makes no effort to uncover its underutilized capacity, and therefore in many instances interprets the methodology of report Pml-01 very freely. My opinion is, therefore, that the actual utilization level is less than reported and that the discrepancy involves the older, obsolete machines. On balance, the modern and expensive machines are operated on more than two shifts.

Quantifying underutilized capacity, however, founders on the unequal relationship between the enterprise and the center. For instance, proposals have been made that enterprises be penalized financially based on underutilized equipment. This forces the enterprise to increase, in any way it can, its capital utilization rate even if it is not in its best economic interest to do so. In



my view we should instead develop an environment in which it will be advantageous and essential for enterprises to increase machine utilization to the upper limits specified by the Principles of Economic Restructuring [hereafter Principles].

After 1990, Implementation of the Restructuring Principles provides that enterprises are to have at their disposal most of their net income from operations, with the sole claim on production assets being standard transfer payments. This offers an incentive to increase capital asset utilization because the impact of this action (such as decreasing fixed costs as a percentage of revenues) will for the most part result in increasing net profits for the enterprise. It will, however, also be necessary to offer significant incentives to employees in multi-shift operations, at the discretion of the enterprise, and to avoid the temptation simply to increase shift work without making corresponding changes in production organization.

Enterprises will be able to experiment in the above areas right up to the point of implementation of the restructured economic system (i.e., defining what the basis should be for the standard transfer from capital assets, and how to define the standard for transfer payments to economic incentive funds). Other principles, such as increases in economic incentives, may be implemented immediately.

#### Sectoral View of Replacement

Let us return, however, to the problem of the obsolescence of a significant portion of our capital stock. Currently the engineering and electrotechnical sectors are operating with Kcs 79 billion of machinery and equipment (valued at acquisition costs) that was produced prior to 1980. If we set ourselves the objective of shortening the operating life of a machine to 20 years by the end of the century (compared to the current figure of 25-28 years), then by the year 2000 we must remove from service, roughly speaking, all machines acquired prior to 1981. This means removing from service over a period of 15 years machinery and equipment with a total acquisition cost of Kcs 79 billion. Between 1981 and 1985, however, machinery and equipment valued at only Kcs 7 billion was removed from service, and plans call for a total of only Kcs 15 billion worth to be removed from service by 1990. To achieve the above objective, then, we would have to remove from service machinery and equipment valued at Kcs 64 billion between 1991 and 2000, a pace three times faster than that of the previous decade. Even if we succeed in this we will not have reached the average useful life of machinery, which currently stands at an average of 14 years.

The retirement of machinery from service should be a part of the refitting and modernization of critical production facilities. We are planning on retiring one third of the machines without replacing them, replacing one third with state of the art equipment (robotized machining centers and automated lines), and replacing the final third with medium level automation and mechanization. This program of replacement will include steps to improve our energy management capabilities, install appropriate environment protection equipment, and provide for the computerization needs of engineering design and office work.

Taking the above requirements into account, our institute has estimated total requirements for investment in the refitting of the engineering and electro-technical sectors through the year 2000 at Kcs 250 billion. This figure does not include funds for necessary construction, or the funds needed for certain necessary single purpose facilities.

The Eighth 5-Year Plan calls for investments in machinery for the above two sectors in the amount of Kcs 65 billion. Enterprises can exceed this limit for the production in-house of single purpose machines (provided that a number of conditions are met and such production is limited), or by obtaining foreign currency repayable loans for exceeding export targets.

It would appear, then, that the calculated requirement of Kcs 250 billion in machinery deliveries is realistic given current spending patterns. There are two problems here however.

First of all, far from all the investments planned for the Eighth 5-Year Plan have been allocated for the modernization of existing facilities. Only about half of the planned expenditures are in this area. Secondly, while there are physically enough resources to meet commitments, there are shortages of specific types of production equipment with the right degree of technical sophistication.

Given the above average return on investments in engineering in comparison with investments in the rest of industry, concerns of covering the financial requirements for these investments and concerns about their return are not primary. One need only mention that depreciation writeoffs designated for pure replacement amounted to almost Kcs 9 billion in 1985, while actual investment reached Kcs 16 billion and gross profits amounted to Kcs 50 billion. Depreciation accounts on the average for 60 percent of all investment resources, and at 1985 prices the engineering sector would have been able to devote one-sixth of its net profits to comprehensive capital replacement.

The solution, in my view, involves obtaining adequate amounts of modern machinery and limiting new construction. An outline of this policy would be as follows:

- expand possibilities for organizations to take initiative in increasing production of their own equipment outside the context of their plan (without limits and allowing for specialization and cooperation among organizations);
- increase our integration into the international division of labor through a simultaneous increase in both exports and imports of advanced machinery (temporarily reducing the pace of exports);
- offer significant incentives for construction work and equipment deliveries related to modernization, as opposed to other resources uses.

However, for there to be a balanced relationship between the center and the enterprise sphere it is essential not only for investment requirements to be met with timely deliveries of the proper equipment, but also that there be the

desired return on this investment. Enterprises must come to consider calculations of return on investment as essential for their operations. It should not be possible to distribute overall investment over individual projects, which are then reworked many times during implementation (especially in terms of the efficiency of outputs). For its part, the center must create an environment in which there is enough modern equipment available, and needs the authority to carry this out. Enterprises must develop the conditions to make the best use of this equipment (mainly by designing competitive products), and must bear the consequences of any misuse of this modern equipment.

#### Differing Conditions at Enterprises

Principles emphasizes the concept of enterprise self-finance, including internal financing of capital investment, on the grounds that resources should not be reallocated among enterprises. One of the unresolved problems of this concept is illustrated by the following example of two engineering enterprises.

#### Comparison of Starting Points for Two Similar Engineering Firms for Future Self-Financing of Capital Asset Development

Category	Enterprise A		Enterprise B	
	1975	1985	1975	1985
Capital assets, total of	516	711	432	1,009
which, machinery	248	368	194	517
Percentage of obsolescence, total	52	59	36	38
obsolescence, machinery only	69	73	54	52
Number of employees	2,944	2,873	3,281	4,303
Capital stock per employee	172	251	132	235
Gross output	316	451	358	519
Labor productivity	105	159	109	121
Capital asset efficiency	0.61	0.63	0.83	0.51
Total investment		195		677
of which, machinery		152		426
Depreciation allocated to modernization		193		269

-- data are from the Federal Statistical Office

-- cash value data in millions of Kcs

-- labor productivity and capital assets per worker in Kcs thousands per employee;

-- efficiency is gross output as percentage of total capital capital asset acquisition cost;

-- investment and depreciation figures are sums for 1976-1985 in Kcs millions.

This table compares firms in the same production sector that were considered to be at the same level in 1975. They were about the same size, had roughly the same labor productivity. Enterprise B had in 1975 somewhat newer and more

efficient capital assets. One must excuse the use of the gross output category; on the one hand there is no other appropriate comparative indicator for 1975, and secondly these enterprises both had very similar product lines and capital asset bases.

What happened between 1975 and 1985? Enterprise A invested very little, almost nothing in construction, and its level of obsolescence in both overall capital and machinery increased from high to very high. Labor productivity, however, rose by 50 percent, capital asset efficiency rose moderately, and there was an overall reduction in the work force. Even so, enterprise A invested an amount equal to the amount set aside in depreciation for simple capital asset replacement.

Enterprise B on the other hand invested a relatively large amount (more than the average for its sector). The obsolescence level of its capital stock was better than average at the end. But labor productivity increased over the 10 year period by only 11 percent and capital asset efficiency declined from 0.83 in 1975 to 0.51 in 1985. Investments exceeded depreciation writeoffs by a factor of three (including pure depreciation).

Of course there are a number of corroborating, opposing and explanatory arguments for this state of affairs. We are not concerned, however, with the details, but with the overall example. What will happen in the future? Enterprise A has used up all its excess capacity and fully depreciated almost its entire capital stock, while firm B will be using facilities generated by investments that will run through 1990. Firm A will have few resources available for replacement (only about Kcs 110 million for the entire Eighth 5-Year Plan), while enterprise B will have depreciation writeoffs from its new investments that will reach Kcs 250 million eventually. So even if the profits allocated to the development fund amounted to zero, enterprise B would still have significant investment opportunities, while enterprise A would continue to become more and more obsolete.

The above example argues for the need to redistribute depreciation writeoffs within a concern or economic organization. The objective should not be, however, to concentrate resources for a new construction project, but to transfer depreciation writeoffs from an enterprise B to fund the modernization of an enterprise A. This objective would be aided by the formation of a repair and modernization fund for normal levels of capital asset obsolescence (repairs), which could be set up as a sectoral standard and deducted from either gross or net profits. These measures would allow us to compensate for differing enterprise environments without the need for case by case intervention. Because there are fewer enterprise Bs than there are enterprise As, it will be necessary to reconsider the idea of redistributing machinery at an inter-sectoral level, in addition to establishing redistribution standards within the engineering sector itself.

There is a technological as well as economic rationale to the requirement to refit and modernize the engineering sector. Without these changes this sector will not be able to fulfill the tasks that will be demanded of it in the future.



Without a modernized engineering sector we will not be able to modernize the national economy, and the modernization of the engineering sector cannot proceed without modernizing the production of engineering sector capital assets. The engineering sector has recently been providing for the growth of other sectors by limiting its own capital replacement needs. Increasing the pace of engineering sector modernization must, therefore, become a national task. This modernization must, however, result in better quality products, significantly enhanced value added to inputs and absolute, not just relative resource conservation.

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## CHALUPA ON NEW ECONOMIC METHODS USED IN AGRICULTURE

Prague HOSPODARSKÉ NOVINY in Czech No 21, 1987 pp 1, 6

[Article by Svatopluk Chalupa, candidate for doctor of science, deputy minister of Agriculture and Food of the CSSR: "Agriculture Ahead of the Pack: The Application of New Economic Tools"]

[Text] The current management mechanism for agriculture contains several elements that should in the near future be implemented generally throughout the national economy. These include primarily the principle of enterprise independence in the choice of production structures and ways to implement them, along with accountability for the achieved results; not drawing on resources in excess of planned levels, even though enterprises have broad authority to do so; increasing the role of vendor-customer relationships, and a number of others. Experiences from the implementation of these tools can thus be used not only within the agro-food complex, but also in restructuring the economic mechanism of the entire economy.

Is A Year A Long Time or a Short Time?

Measures to improve the planned management system for agriculture and the food sector took effect as of 1 January 1986. They emphasized the concept of planning in the context of a national agro-industrial complex; limitations on management by directive, primarily in planning material indicators and their replacement with carefully negotiated vendor-customer relations; straightening out value relationships by significantly curtailing price intervention related to capital assets; adhering to the growth principle for JZD economic incentives, and a number of others.

Even as they were being approved, however, it was clear that the affect of some of these elements would be restricted. For instance, the functioning of vendor-customer relationships in the procurement of agricultural products is affected by problems in the delivery of capital assets (vendor-customer relations within and outside of the agro-food complex). Only a portion of the eliminated price intervention related to capital assets was incorporated directly into procurement prices, which strengthened the impact of so-called nonprice mechanisms. There was no change in the tax and transfer payment system. The system was only augmented to a limited extent by aggregative tools for managing the processing industry, etc.

Agricultural production is unique in many ways. These production peculiarities are reflected proportionately in the development of value indicators. An uneven production cycle, the seasonality of consumption of certain production factors, dependence on weather conditions, are all related to the biological character of agricultural production. It is thus very difficult to get a general idea of the effectiveness of changes in mechanisms in the course of a year. Even the results for an entire year do not necessarily have any predictive value. We are therefore approaching the evaluation of the efficiency of Measures with some reservations.

The year 1986 was not an especially favorable one for plant production. The overall increase in production was almost Kcs 0.8 billion lower than the needed and requested increase of Kcs 1.2 billion. A faster than projected growth in livestock production enabled us to meet the target for overall growth in agricultural output, but the structure of this fulfillment was less than optimal (plant production declined 0.9 points to 42.9 percent of total agricultural output in comparison with 1985).

The impact of extreme weather conditions, on the other hand, enabled us to test the viability of one of the most talked about programs, comprehensive harvest insurance. Until 1986, bear in mind, agricultural crop insurance had covered only selected risks (roughly 33 percent of any damages). The remaining 67 percent were the responsibility of the enterprise, if it had enough internal resources to cover the loss, with the impact to a lesser extent being offset from the noninsured damages fund (basically the state budget). Any repetition of extreme conditions made it very difficult to resolve revenue problems. Comprehensive crop insurance became compulsory in 1986 and covers all damages to harvests as long as they are not caused by the agricultural enterprise or another organization. The planned yield is what is insured, with the upper limit set as the average of the three best years from the past five. Specific crops have specific percentage insurance rates, according to the risk involved in their production. A bonus is offered in years of low damages in the form of a discount off the insurance rate for the following year. The agricultural enterprise shares in 20 percent of any damages. The main purpose of this program is to increase the stability of economic performance (even at the price of fairly high insurance premiums--a total of Kcs 4 billion in 1986) and to improve the revenue position of agricultural enterprises.

In one way the year 1986 was an ideal time to test these objectives. The extreme weather conditions were very unevenly distributed geographically. In a number of enterprises, mainly in East Bohemia, North Moravia, and East Slovakia, there were minimal damages and enterprises are in line for bonuses. In South Moravia and South Slovakia the payout rate exceeded 200 percent. The average payout rate for the CSR was 130 percent and for the SSR 140 percent (excluding the affect of bonuses), which means that roughly Kcs 5.3 billion in claims was paid out on Kcs 4 billion in premium payments. The poor harvest, which would in the past have caused a great decline in financial resources, had no such impact this time.

The efficiency of this tool, then, has in principle been shown. In a relatively short time comprehensive insurance has stabilized the economies of most agricultural enterprises. In comparison, another of the alternatives that had been discussed, i.e., significantly increasing reserve or risk funds, would have taken a much longer period of time to generate the same volume of resources. The experiences of 1986 also pointed to other problems, such as the need to define plant groups more precisely (for instance dividing seed crops into grains and legumes), the insuring of quality, coinsurance for extremely severe damage in specialized enterprises, the aggregation of all industrial crops, and some others. We need to study these suggestions in more detail.

#### Comparison Argues for Changes

The profits of cooperative and state agricultural organizations decreased from Kcs 13.7 billion in 1985 to Kcs 12.8 billion last year. The impact on resources for distribution was substantially lower, with a reduction from Kcs 17 billion only to Kcs 16.66 billion. Better still was the situation in allocations to enterprise funds (a decline from Kcs 13.48 billion to Kcs 13.16 billion). And this was the case even though plant production fell Kcs 2 billion below projections.

The rate of development, however, provides a much clearer comparative picture for comparing last year's performance with 1985 figures recalculated based on 1986 conditions. The annual growth rate of adjusted value added was more than twice that of industry. Cooperative organizations experienced a growth rate of 11.4 percent, and state agricultural organizations grew at a 14.4 percent pace. With the exception of depreciation, the growth rates of other critical cost categories were much less than increases in output.

Profits of state organizations increased by almost 33 percent (from Kcs 2 billion to Kcs 2.6 billion, i.e., by 32 percent) and cooperative profits by 12.6 percent (from Kcs 8.4 billion to Kcs 9.5 billion). The return on investment at cooperatives was 8.5 percent and that of state agricultural organizations 6.8 percent.

These are clearly fine results, which however hide significant interenterprise differences and a number of general problems. Accounting evidence indicates that non-agricultural activities generated 54.4 percent of total profits at JZD and 16.6 percent of total profits of state farms. In a number of enterprises (even entire oblasts) agricultural operations run at a loss, making profits from nonagricultural activities the sole source of the resources to cover the financial requirements of the enterprise, as well as the loss of the agricultural division.

The frequently discussed problem of the "excessive" financial resources in agriculture looks somewhat different from this perspective. It is even clear that the current level of agricultural financial resources, when compared with capital asset price levels, does not assure that most



enterprises will even be able to meet their own capital replacement requirements for agricultural production alone. Developing nonagricultural production, then, is not the "path of least resistance" to obtaining financial resources, but often the only possible path.

It is very difficult to classify nonagricultural activities of agricultural firms as either socially "desirable" or "undesirable." The fact remains that in most agricultural enterprises these production activities assist in managing seasonal peaks in agricultural operations, for the most part make use of the local labor pool, raw materials and capital assets. In addition, as the above comments make clear, these activities make a far from negligible financial contribution to enterprise operations as well. Local lack of management, and especially the unilateral overestimation of economic considerations, leads to a limited extent to other isolated negative phenomena, mainly in the form of the so-called sale of labor.

Another general shortcoming is the limited impact of reductions in material intensiveness in cooperative organizations. Enterprises in this sector exceeded their own economic plan targets for material costs less depreciation as a percentage of output by 0.5 points. This translates into a lowering of profits by Kcs 600 million. There are complex reasons for this development. A role was played both by increased costs resulting from the elimination of intervention in capital assets prices and the increased impact of reductions in plant production (greater production intensity at JZD is accompanied by greater risk). The ongoing influence of volume indicators in managerial work continues also to play a role, despite these objective influences.

#### Socially Desirable Investments

Eliminating price intervention for artificial fertilizers has had a significant impact. For the first time in the history of socialist agriculture, in 1986 demand declined for deliveries of artificial fertilizer. The specifics for each type of fertilizer, however, differed greatly. Enterprises refused to purchase fertilizers for which they felt the utility did not warrant the price (those that increased soil acidity, those with improper physical properties, those with low nutrient content). The greatest marketing problems existed for ammonium sulfate, ammonium nitrate, urea, and superphosphate powder. The reaction of production enterprises was interesting. For the most part they met sales targets, but offered no suggestions for improving their products. The situation has been resolved for 1987 by reducing the prices of nitrogen fertilizers at the level both of import and procurement prices. In the case of ammonium sulfate the reduction was by more than 40 percent of the original price. The price difference will be made up from the budgeted financial resources of the food and agriculture division.

A number of discussions have covered capital investment in agriculture, and primarily the need to give priority to deliveries of machinery and equipment not included in annual budgets, and for special agricultural investments.

These discussions usually take place as a result of greater than expected volumes of work and deliveries. It is just such large investments that are used as evidence of the "excessive" financial resources at the disposal of agriculture.

Let us analyze the situation regarding plan fulfillment for capital investment. So-called regulated investment (excluding special agricultural investments) were exceeded by Kcs 3.1 billion, of which Kcs 1.8 billion was machinery and equipment. During the year the planning commission permitted more construction starts, a total of Kcs 1.1 billion, mostly apartments. Despite the increased construction starts the volume of noncompleted work as of 31 December 1986 stood Kcs 0.5 billion lower than the original plan for budgetary cost residuals.

This implies that a minimum of Kcs 1.6 billion has been invested, in the interest of speeding up construction in socially desirable directions.

Exceeding capital investment targets depends on having resources available to spend as well as the physical availability, on the market, of the necessary equipment. In recent years there have been regular conflicts between the material availability of agricultural equipment and the monetary limits placed on capital investment (this is one reason that this indicator has been changed to simply an orientational one). If the plan for machinery production is exceeded (and the excess product does not find an export market) the same situation would repeat itself and be very difficult to resolve.

Special agricultural investments are another story. These are investments made mainly to reduce losses, resolve ecological problems with minimal demands on construction capacity (manure dumps, silage pits, haylofts, fenced pastures, drainage systems, small reservoirs and ponds, orchards, vineyards, hop plantings, etc.). From the above list it is clear that these are projects unique to agriculture and which do not draw off construction capacity from other sectors. Experiences to date (the system has been operative since 1982) indicate that determining the demonstrable contributions of this category of investments we need to ask a few questions. It is mainly a matter of the more effective implementation of efficiency criteria (an upper limit on designated costs per unit of capacity) and a further shortening of construction periods (restricting starts from the current 50 percent of budgeted cost residuals to 40 percent of that figure).

The development of wages payable resources in agriculture is regulated in two ways. At JZD an incremental standard established for an entire 5-year plan is used (an increase of 0.35 percent in wages payable for every 1 percent increase in adjusted value added) and in other agricultural organizations an individually established incremental standard. The results for 1986 confirm the effectiveness of the incremental standard. The wage intensiveness of adjusted value added declined in both instances by roughly the same amount (10 percent). Wage costs as a percentage of output increased moderately in state organizations (0.6 percent), while in cooperative organizations it declined by 0.7 percent.

The main advantage of the incremental standard is that it generates a climate of equal rigor while eliminating the subjective intervention of individual management levels. Despite isolated problems there was no disruption at all in 1986 in the rules governing wage control in any organization.

In 1986 the average wage in state agricultural organizations reached Kcs 3,002 and at JZD the figure of Kcs 3,169 (comparable figures). In relation to wages and the average national wage, state agricultural organization pay scales are 0.7 percent lower than the mean figure, and JZD 4.9 percent below average. In agriculture, however, an employee works substantially more hours than in industry. The ratio of hourly wages between agriculture and industry is the opposite of the above phenomenon; they are 87.2 percent of industrial rates for state farms and 90.5 percent of industrial levels at JZD. Annual rates of growth in average wages are also often compared, while increases in labor productivity are compared less often. In industry the average wage increased by 1.4 percent and labor productivity by 4.6 percent of adjusted values added. The figures for state agricultural organizations were 1.8 and 6.3 percent respectively, and for JZD 2.2 and 5.9 percent. The more rapid growth of average wages in agriculture corresponds, therefore, to greater increases in labor productivity.

#### Isolated Measures an Obstacle

Measures to develop the planned management system have placed great emphasis on increasing the position and role of vendor-customer relations in plan formation and implementation. The number of material indicators of the procurement plan for agricultural products, especially for grains and slaughter animals, has been considerably diminished. A new decree has been issued by the Federal Ministry of Food and Agriculture concerning the basic conditions of agricultural product deliveries and deliveries of agricultural requirements (decree No 73/1985, Laws of the CSSR). Economic penalties are provided for significant overfulfillment of contracts (procurement prices for milk, eggs and poultry can be decreased by 10-120 percent for production in excess of contract provisions by 2 to 3 percent). Purchasing agents for agricultural products may use the integration funds tied to contract negotiations to offer incentives for quantity, quality or timeliness of deliveries.

The level of implementation, however, still has not reached projected levels. There are a number of reasons for this. One of these is the restriction of individual measures and objectives to the relationships between agricultural production and the processing industries. Agricultural enterprises rightly request that in addition to negotiating vendor-customer contracts for deliveries of agricultural products, that they also negotiate firm contracts for deliveries of capital equipment, so they can be sure to have the resources to produce what is necessary.

On the one hand, an agricultural enterprise is bound by the rules of management within the agro-industrial complex to sign contracts for deliveries of



agricultural products, while on the other hand there are frequently no contractual guarantees that they will receive what are often critical deliveries of capital equipment. The conflicts that arise from this situation are resolvable only systemically within the context of the national economy.

In addition to these external influences there are also internal shortcomings. Habits from the era of directive planning persist at all levels of management of the agro-industrial complex (from ministries to enterprises). It has been shown that the division of authority between individual levels of management is very difficult to implement. This means that too frequently one of two extremes occurs. On the one hand is an attempt to develop the "space" for the fulfillment of contracts through the full exploitation of all resources, which in turn creates the preconditions for deliveries in excess of the contract. On the other hand lies a lack of activity on the part of a partner, because they are waiting for decisions from higher levels of management. This is related to a lack of activity in making use of economic incentives (reductions in procurement prices of milk, which is allowed by regulations, were only a little more than Kcs 10 million, whereas Kcs 25 billion is spent annually on milk procurement).

Implementing measures at the level of national economic planning is another story. We are convinced that the current branch planning must grow into planning for national economic complexes. These include planning for the development of the agro-industrial complex, which also includes branches that provide capital equipment for the agricultural and food industries, and those which handle the final marketing of these products. Measures have also been motivated by an attempt to incorporate not only the existing plan, but R&D progress as well. Development plans for agro-industrial complex and for the R&D progress of this complex have been made and constitute an independent part of the pertinent 5-year plan. Their content, however, duplicates that of other parts of the plan. Most importantly, the necessary degree of interaction between sectors has never been achieved. This has held back the formulation of requirements and the search for ways to implement them in terms of volume, structure, quality, and timeliness.

A brief evaluation of the impact of Measures Related to the Development of the Planned Management System for the Agro-Food Complex does not exhaust all the information that has been gained. I have intentionally not touched on all the serious problems, such as the differentiation in results of enterprises operating under comparable conditions. Even though the system has been in place only for a short time it may be stated that the system has, as a whole, proven itself. Enterprise independence and accountability for performance results has resulted in the mobilization of underutilized capacity. Nevertheless one must count on isolated problems and shortcomings, and therefore in the flexibility of the adopted system. The regulations do not need to be changed for 1987 (with the exception of the above mentioned types of investment), but at the same time it is necessary to analyze in more detail individual findings and to react to them. At the same time we assume that we will take full advantage of these experiences in work on the restructuring of the economic mechanism.



## BUCHAREST AMBULANCE SERVICE ACTIVITIES, PROBLEMS DISCUSSED

Bucharest FLACARA in Romanian No 25, 19 Jun 87 p 18

[Interview with Dr Mircea Radulescu, director, and Virgil Tatu, deputy technical director, Bucharest Ambulance Station, by Razvan Barbulescu: "With a Sense of Duty to the Citizen: Make Way for the Ambulance"]

[Text] The Bucharest Ambulance Station, one of the largest of its kind in the world, is in the very center of the capital. This location is no accident. In this location the station is a convenient distance from all neighborhoods and all communes of the Ilfov Agricultural Sector. The reason for such a location is obvious, inasmuch as an ambulance can respond with optimum speed from this spot. When entering a building on Mihai Eminescu Street hidden by a charming and carefully tended garden, despite the many white vehicles bearing the ambulance department insignia waiting in line to go out on a call, a person cannot imagine the agitation of the continuous, intense activity in the two rooms on the 2nd floor. There is nothing dramatic to this agitation precisely because it is efficient. No one here loses his head, even though the appeals coming over the telephone with the rapidity of machinegun fire are highly dramatic. The struggle for life which has become a duty is not exciting if you are not familiar with the work of these people, who have no time to be surprised or to have doubts, because the telephone calls and their frequency leave no room for excitement. And yet, one Sunday in the midst of persons who do everything, minute by minute, to preserve health and normal life after only a call to 061 or 069 reveals not only the performance of the medical commando team working against the clock, but also the emotion and the joy of each of them at every success. And though it may seem paradoxical, their ideal is a simple one, a moment of quiet.

People Who Never Lose Their Head

The dispatcher's office is located between two rooms, one small and one rather large, in which much talk goes on, so much that one day's worth is enough for a week. The dispatcher's office "processes" telephone operators' calls and sends its decisions to the adjoining room, where the radio operators dispatch the teams.

It is 0715 and the team of coordinating physician Marcel Stanculescu, a man with 25 years of service "at ambulance headquarters," begins its Sunday with the sickness of Maria Columbeanu, age 52. Arriving at the patient's home in

15 minutes (you read correctly, only 15 Minutes), Dr Ecaterina Drog determines that a bout of hypertension (angina pectoris) is involved. In the meantime, the 13 telephone operators on the team of Angela Goldis, the shift chief, start working even harder. Calm, sometimes with motherly voices, they receive messages, take notes, and then give advice (yes, they give advice, because the ambulance station telephone operators are also graduates of the Red Cross School) and fill out forms: surname, given name, address, age, symptoms. Each desk has 15 lines on telephone number 061, and these ambulance station lines are almost always busy. What can impress a telephone operator in such a rush? Nothing now; later yes. Maria Joldis tells me that the suffering of a child is "unbearable." "When a mother calls, you try to calm her down. Her being calm is enormously important. She can do exactly what has to be done until the ambulance gets there. At times such as this no one should lose his head. Generally speaking, we try to get as much information as possible about patients, even details which are sometimes nerve-wracking to give, details about the address and reference points near the residence. It is important to get there in time. Even though a shift is 12 hours to us, we fight by the minute."

In the dispatcher's office, the coordinating physician has few satisfactions, but they are vital ones. "We are satisfied when we know that our thinking has been correct," points out Dr Marcel Stanculescu, "that priority was set properly, or that a particular case was one which could wait a while. The fight for life often must be won during the first minutes."

1020 hours. Dispatchers Paula Lisman, Cornelia Breazu, and Elisabeta Stingulescu, and radio operators Vasilica Abagiu, Luiza Dumitrache, and Theodora Dumitrescu have handled 140 calls in only 2 hours. These are the morning hours, which like the nighttime ones do not leave a moment's rest even to drink a glass of water. Dr Mircea Radulescu, director of the station, had told me earlier that no one is refused ambulance service. Venera Istrate, age 60, with hemorrhage following a tooth extraction, is given first aid, then is taken to the stomatology unit in Calea Plevnei and is taken back home. Dr Andrei Georgescu says that "although it does not seem so, this is an emergency, inasmuch as a coagulation disturbance might be involved which could lead to pronounced anemia with serious consequences."

Diagnosis under emergency conditions (little time, modest resources, far from the facilities of a doctor's office, patient and family stress) is a rare ability of which the ambulance doctor can boast. To see and understand in a few minutes what life or accident has done in an organism, to approach a patient, overcoming his fear and persuading him to help you--these are daily satisfactions of the ambulance doctor. I have seen persons with bodies distorted by pain and fear almost recover after the ambulance doctor crosses their threshold. They did not do this out of dignity, trying to hide their pain, but submitted themselves with confidence and hope. Skill and experience, tact and patience, talent and kindness are the weapons with which the ambulance doctor wins battles daily, regardless of the patient's age and profession and regardless of the house he enters.

I think again of the age of Venera Istrate or of Suzana Sitaghi, 75, who became ill in front of a ticket window and was taken by an ambulance to Hospital No 9, a neurology hospital. I say that I think again of their ages, having in mind the belief of some people that the age is not asked for medical

reasons but because of these priorities. "No comment is needed here," remarks Dr Marcel Stanculescu. It is stupid to believe that. Every medical record includes the age. It is a great help to us to know this, because the age tells us an enormous amount, particularly in the case of cardiac patients. The great majority of elderly cases are handled by us and not by the microstrations. The priority is determined by the disease, not by the age."

1145 hours. We are in ambulance No 37-B-2100 with primary physician Mircea Razus and driver Marin Ciobanu. We are headed for Foisurul Street, where the telephone operators recorded a call from No 16 by Elisabeta Peterfi, who was suffering from extreme dizziness and was vomiting. We are on radio band 1 and I recognize voices which had become familiar to me throughout the morning. There is quiet on frequency 2, which is set aside for mother and child emergencies. When we have reached the residence of Elisabeta Peterfi, Dr Razus takes charge in a light, friendly way designed to calm the woman's fear. There is a brief and precise consultation, with questions and answers, words of advice, and a prescription. He tells me on the way: "There is no great emergency, but there is a medical emergency. The Meniere vertigo syndrome is extremely disagreeable and requires immediate treatment. Now it has been detected in her, and it can occur in any circumstances."

On the way back I try to get a few words out of the man driving the vehicle. Dr Razus tells me that "Petrica drives 100 kilometers a day but says barely 10 words." Petrica is one of those drivers who can do it all, from driving the vehicle flawlessly to positioning a patient "properly" on a stretcher. I observe that, despite the markings on the ambulance, other drivers grant us only negligible priority. A feeling of triumph is to be read on many of their faces if they pass us and get in front. The vanity of the conquerors arouses pity in the ambulance. I ask Petrica to switch on the rotating emergency light. This has no effect except that children and adults at bus stops show curiosity. The indifference saddens me. I remember the words of Virgil Tatu: "An ambulance is always on an emergency." But the only people to give this matter any thought have thus far been the people in the dispatcher's office.

1325 hours. Only 35 calls were recorded between 1200 and 1300 hours. Mihai Erena, one of the good ambulance station attendants, was ready to leave. I accompanied him to the ambulance. He has worked in the guard room of the Emergency Hospital for 10 years, and at the ambulance station for 8 years. I asked him why he left the Emergency Hospital. "I had an argument with a doctor." He is tired and looks like a man whom not many things can impress. "I am depressed by the helplessness of the elderly and lonely." He had just come from the home of an old woman whom he had carried down 10 floors in a blanket because she could not get on a stretcher. "The stretchers are a problem," he said. "Why can't we make light and functional ones?"

1640 hours. Simona Lazarescu, 3-1/2-years old, fell from her cradle and was taken to the Grigore Alexandrescu Hospital in 25 minutes, with a hemorrhaging wound in her head, after she had received first aid from attendant Ileana Lepadat.

The number of calls rose to 65 between 1800 and 1900.

The shift changed. At the Vitan Birzesti substation, radio operator Ana Costachita told us that it had been a quiet day. The two pediatricians



treated 23 children, and the other two doctors, general practitioners, processed 16 adult cases.

#### Always Hooked up, Like Firemen

The promptness of ambulance service response also depends on the vehicles. Rally performance is not required of them, but they must function flawlessly, day and night and in all seasons. That is, they must start up when the key is turned. People here are always hooked up, like firemen. If the Bucharest Ambulance Station has now succeeded in eliminating many of its deficiencies, this is due to its ambulance fleet, the modernization of this fleet, and better management of available equipment. Thanks are due for this situation to the work of deputy technical director Virgil Tatu and his skill in directing the technical department of the ambulance station.

[Question] "What would you say that the major upgrades of the station fleet are, Comrade Tatu?"

[Answer] "First of all, I should like to say that our ambulances, of which there are more than 400, are carefully and skillfully maintained not just by the 45 mechanics but also by the drivers who operate them.

"I switched the fleet from TV vehicles to Dacias. This increased the speed of travel and mobility and greatly reduced fuel consumption. In addition, each vehicle is equipped with a radio set and a complete set of emergency medical equipment. You can easily see that travel in the field is much more efficient and the speed of response is increased.

[Question] "How are the ambulance drivers?"

[Answer] "They are excellent, highly skilled professional drivers. They are familiar with every corner of the Capital. They know how to use the medical equipment on the ambulance, and they help the doctor and the attendant when it is necessary to transport a patient. They drive very well. They absolutely must be at least 25 years old. They are able to drive very fast in complete safety, but they know that they have to provide maximum comfort for the patient, and so they drive carefully and gently so as not to ruin or cancel out the efforts of the doctor. Our drivers take a special examination, and some of them have studied foreign languages and have attended first aid courses.

[Question] The world at large is probably not as lenient as you are. A foreign language is very important, but what if they can't even speak their own language properly?

[Answer] I know what you mean, that the language some of them use is inappropriate.

[Question] We might even say downright rude.

[Answer] As nothing is absolutely perfect, we still see such behavior today, but it is becoming increasingly rare. We have tried to establish true discipline, and we are convinced that we have brought about considerable change, as is attested even by the people we help. The occupation of an



ambulance driver is a hard one. In winter, when the ambulance is covered with snow, he drives in the snow, he carries a stretcher, and has no day off if need be. You can wake one up in the middle of the night and put him to work. Some drivers have been with us for a dozen years and wouldn't leave for anything in the world. Others, those who haven't become adjusted to the discipline required, have looked for jobs elsewhere.

[Question] What else would you like for the technical department of the station?

[Answer] We recondition our own spare parts, but we do not have a major repair shop; we go to a repair service organization for major repairs. For the present we are trying to procure a tank truck for the sake of better fuel management. We have also used our own resources to develop a stretcher that comes closer to meeting our needs. We will recommend that this stretcher be mass-produced. There is something else, but not something having to do with equipment. It is a comment on automobile drivers and the fact that they do not give us the priority in traffic which according to law they should give us. I would like to appeal to other vehicle drivers through your publication. It is a question of understanding and humaneness. The law, that is the regulation implementing Council of State Decree No 328/1966, is very clear on this point, but we often encounter antagonistic attitudes. When I called the attention of the driver of another vehicle to this point, he replied "well, you are not answering a call." As a matter of fact, the ambulance was coming from a call, but the ambulance is always on call. The police authorities understand this and help us, and often even clear the way for us, but this is not enough.

2140 hours. A call reporting a major emergency is recorded: acute pulmonary edema, unstable angina, and high arterial hypertension. After emergency treatment, Ion Arnautu is taken to Municipal Hospital by Dr Mircea Oprisan.

The Ambulance Doctor, a Kind of Mother to All

Dr Mircea Radulescu and I withdraw to his office on the 3rd floor.

[Question] Comrade director, how does the ambulance service regard patients? I'll return later to the question of how patients see the service.

[Answer] It's not difficult to understand, and I have no intention of even demonstrating, that the ambulance service exists everywhere in the world because patients exist, because the service is needed. This was the view of it held by its founder, Professor Nicolae Minovici, of the Ambulance Society, which is among the first of its kind in Europe, and this is the way we look at it today, with a sense of responsibility toward those who are suffering. The ambulance service gives emergency medical attention to the public, to workers in major industrial areas, whether it is a question of sickness or of accident. The public appeals to us, and this is a sign of trust. Many people only want the service for its ambulance doctor. You may not believe this, but there are many people who are calmed down simply by talking with our doctor, who is a kind of mother to everybody. The same is true of the ambulance attendants. Because of their skill and experience, many attendants reach the level of doctors from the viewpoint of training. As I have already told you,

we do not refuse anyone, although we find very often that people are not justified in calling on the services of the station.

[Question] You mean to say that people call for an ambulance when there is no real need for first aid?

[Answer] Not exactly. We are called at 061 or 069 for advice of different kinds, as for example regarding medicine to be prescribed for the symptoms which the caller has, for more or less serious ailments which for one reason or another do not require an emergency ambulance trip, and so forth. For example, we were called yesterday by a 37-year-old woman in the neighborhood complaining of uterine hemorrhage, which is a complaint calling for emergency treatment. When the doctor arrived, the doctor found that the "patient" had got sand in her eyes. What can you say about something like this?

[Question] A lot. Perhaps the woman invented a complaint because she felt that otherwise the ambulance wouldn't come out promptly.

[Answer] Her case was not a great emergency. She could have been told over the telephone what to do and could have waited a while, because other cases had priority at the time. In any event, our doctor took her to the eye hospital and did not refuse to help. But there must be priorities, and they are established by medical criteria: traffic accidents, major accidents involving a large number of people, on-the-job accidents, children less than 1 year old, pregnant women, heart attacks, and so forth.

[Question] How long does it take for an ambulance to arrive after a call?

[Answer] It takes 5 minutes if a vehicle which has completed a case is in the vicinity. It takes a maximum of 1 hour if a case is involved which is not a major emergency and if traffic is heavy. There is another factor at work here. There are alleys and apartment buildings which do not have any identifying marks on them. If it is also the middle of the night, it is easy to become disoriented and you have to wake people up. Sometimes looking for an address takes more than half of the time needed to get to the address. We have to find a particular street, apartment building, stairway, etc. Sector 2 is a model from the viewpoint of marking of streets, alleys, and apartment buildings. It is a good idea for an apartment building number not to be affixed to the glass door of an entrance where it can be broken or erased but to be mounted directly on the apartment building in large letters. This would be a big help to everyone, both patients and the ambulance service.

[Question] Nevertheless, isn't it sometimes the fault of the service that an ambulance doesn't arrive promptly?

[Answer] Lack of discipline still makes itself felt sometimes. A delay in the schedule of only 5 minutes which others might not experience is added in our case to the delays caused by urban traffic, search for an address, and so forth. We also call failure to leave on a call promptly lack of discipline.

We plan to outfit the station with a Coral 4021 computer this year. We are certain that this computer will eliminate many deficiencies. We have been given assistance in this direction by the Ministry of Health and by the Electronic and Computer Industrial Central, whose specialists have been

especially receptive to our requests. Immense progress will be made. We will optimize everything, starting with acceptance of a case. We will be much more prompt, and there will be a spectacular drop in waiting times. We will have everything available at the computer terminal, from calls for help to case histories. For example, we will have records on patients with myocardial infarction, and we will be able to determine how many times a person has called the ambulance station and how justified his calls have been.

[Question] The ambulance station records up to 1,700 requests in 24 hours. During the morning and evening rush hours, who could handle part of the station's services in cases which are extremely urgent?

[Answer] The general practitioners of local neighborhood outpatient clinics could do this. They even make home calls on request. In addition, general practitioners and pediatricians not associated with the ambulance station provide emergency services at our microstations.

[Question] In addition to introducing a computer, what other new developments do you have planned?

[Answer] The possibility of recording electrocardiograms over the telephone is also being studied, in cooperation with the central referred to and the Scientific Research and Technological Engineering Institute for Electronics. We have been and are supported constantly by our ministry and by the municipal government. Ambulance service involves front-line medicine, and our accomplishments, the station's equipment, and the constant upgrading of the station illustrate the permanent care bestowed on public health by our party. We try on every call to meet the standards of the mission assigned to us.

A total of 75 forms were filled out between 2100 and 2200 hours. Florica Dobrescu, one of the best dispatchers at the ambulance station, never stopped plying back and forth between the dispatcher's desk and the radio operators' window. A good dispatcher must have the memory of an elephant, the stamina of a marathon runner, and the ability of a person who has worked for years in the land registry office. Florica Dobrescu knows Bucharest from the driver's viewpoint, that is, she knows the one-way and closed streets and knows which streets are difficult to drive on, and she constantly thinks out the best routes. Midnight is approaching, and I am told that now is when the really hard work begins.

On this night 12 ambulance doctors and 24 doctors at the microstations will not have a minute of peace, although, I repeat, they want to be disturbed as little as possible.

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28 Aug. 1987